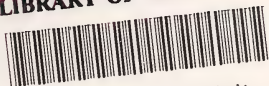
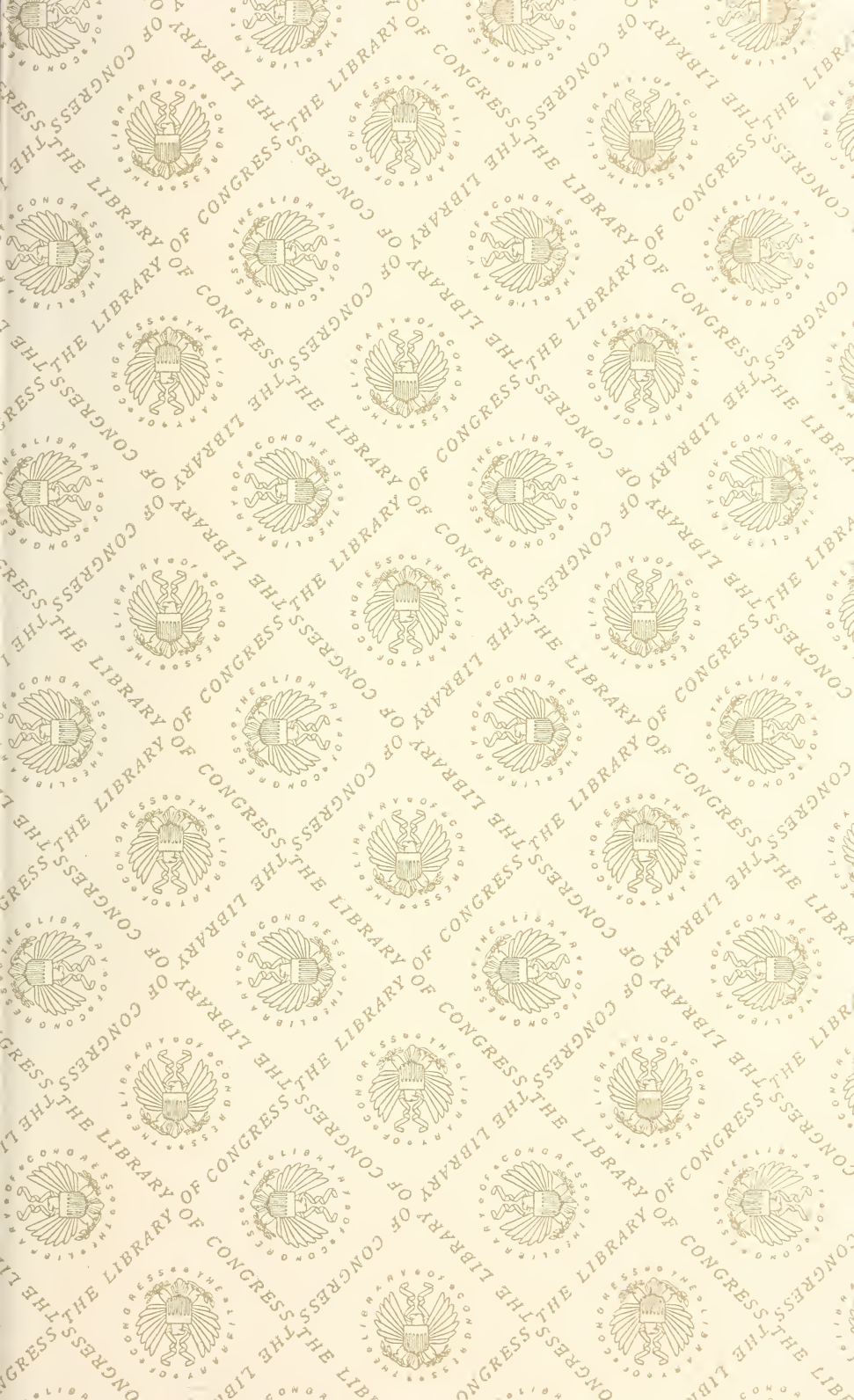


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- 5 Tecumseh
- 6 A savage
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A View of Col. Johnson's Engagement with the Savages (Commanded by Tecumseh) near the Moravian Town, October 5, 1812.



Col. Johnson heroically defending himself against the attack of an Indian Chief.
 The American Infantry firing upon a body of the enemy on the left.
 A dismounted Dragoon personally engaged with one of the enemy.
 The cavalry pursuing the retreating savages across the hills.

5 Tecumseh rallying his men, and encouraging them to return to the attack.
 6 A savage in the act of scalping a wounded drummer of the American Infantry.
 7 The savages pursued by the cavalry, retreating to a swamp on the left.
 8 The enemy (rallied by their commander Tecumseh) returning to the attack.



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HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA;
OF
THE LANDING OF OUR FOREFATHERS
AT PLYMOUTH,
AND OF THEIR MOST REMARKABLE
ENGAGEMENTS WITH THE INDIANS
IN NEW-ENGLAND,
FROM THEIR FIRST LANDING IN 1620, UNTIL THE FINAL SUBJUGATION OF THE NATIVES IN 1679.
TO WHICH IS ANNEXED
THE PARTICULARS OF ALMOST EVERY IMPORTANT ENGAGEMENT WITH THE SAVAGES AT THE WESTWARD TO THE PRESENT DAY.
INCLUDING THE DEFEAT OF GENERALS
BRADDOCK, HARMER AND ST. CLAIR,
BY THE INDIANS AT THE WESTWARD;
THE CREEK AND SEMINOLE WAR, &c.

—
BY HENRY TRUMBULL.
—

“My countrymen—These things ought not to be forgotten, for the benefit of our children, and those that follow them, they should be recorded in History.....FRANKLIN.

—
BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE CLARK.
1830.

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DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, TO WIT:

Be it remembered, That on the twenty-fourth day of December, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Henry Trumbull, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following to wit:

History of the Discovery of America, of the Landing of our Forefathers at Plymouth, and of their most remarkable engagements with the Indians, in New-England, from their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the natives in 1679; to which is annexed, the defeat of Generals Braddock, Harmer, and St. Clair, by the Indians at the Westward, &c.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned.'

H. W. EDWARDS,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

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CHAP. I.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

MANKIND owe the discovery of the western world to the gold, the silver, the precious stones, the spices, silks and costly manufactures of the East ; and even these incentives, were for a considerable time, insufficient to prompt to the undertaking, although the most skilful navigator of the age proffered to risk his life in the attempt.

Christopher Columbus, who was destined to the high honour of revealing a new hemisphere to Europeans, was by birth a Genoese, who had been early trained to a sea-faring life, and having acquired every branch of knowledge connected with that profession, was no less distinguished by his skill and abilities, than for his intrepid and persevering spirit. This man, when about forty years of age, had formed the great idea of reaching the East-Indies by sailing westward ; but as his fortune was very small, and the attempt required very effectual patronage, desirous that his native country should profit by his success, he laid his plan before the senate of Genoa, but the scheme appearing chimerical, it was rejected. He then repaired to the court of Portugal ; and although the Portuguese were at that time distinguished for their commercial spirit, and John II. who then reigned, was a discerning and enterprising prince, yet the prepossessions of the great men in his court, to whom the matter was referred, caused Columbus finally to fail in his attempt there also. He

next applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Arragon and Castile, and at the same time sent his brother Bartholomew (who followed the same profession; and who was well qualified to fill the immediate place under such a leader) to England, to lay the proposal before Henry VII. which likewise, very fortunately for the future well being of the country, met with no success. Many were the years which Christopher Columbus spent in ineffectual attendance at the Castilian court; the impoverished state into which the finances of the United Kingdoms were reduced, the war with Granada repressing every disposition to attempt great designs; but the war being at length terminated, the powerful mind of Isabella broke through all obstacles; she declared herself the patroness of Columbus, whilst her husband Ferdinand, declining to partake as an adventurer in the voyage, only gave it the sanction of his name. Thus did the superior genius of a woman effect the discovery of one half of the globe.

The ships sent on this important search were only three in number, two of them very small. They had ninety men on board. Although the expense of the expedition had long remained the sole obstacle to its being undertaken, yet when every thing was provided, the cost did not amount to more than 17,760 dollars, and there were twelve months provisions put on board.

Columbus set sail from port Palos, in the province of Andalusia, on the 3d of August, 1492; he proceeded to the Canary islands, and from thence directed his course due West in the latitude 28 North. In this course he continued for two months, without falling in with any land, which caused such a spirit of discontent and mutiny to arise as the superior address and management of the commander became unequal to suppress, although for these qualities he was eminently distinguished. He was at length reduced to the necessity of entering into a solemn engagement to abandon the enterprize and return home, if land did not appear

in three days. Probably he would not have been able to retain his people so long from acts of violence and outrage, in pursuing so untried and dreary a course, had they not been sensible that their safety in returning home depended very much on his skill as a navigator in conducting the vessel.

At length the appearance of land changed their despondency to the most exulting rapture. It was an island abounding with inhabitants, both sexes of which were quite naked; their manners kind, gentle, and unsuspecting. Columbus named it San Salvador. It is one of the clusters which bears the general name of Bahama. It was only 3 deg. 30 min. lat. to the South of the island of Gomora, one of the Canaries, from whence he took his departure. This navigator was still so confirmed in the opinion which he had formed before he undertook the voyage, that he believed himself then to be on an island which was situated adjacent to the Indies. Proceeding to the South, he saw three other islands which he named St. Mary, of the Conception, Ferdinand and Isabella. At length he arrived at a very large island, and as he had taken seven of the natives of San Salvador on board, he learned from them it was called Cuba, but he gave it the name of Juanna. He next proceeded to an island which he called Española, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed, and it still bears the name of Hispaniola. Here he built a fort and formed a small settlement. He then returned home, having on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands. Steering a more southern course, he fell in with some of the Carribee islands, and arrived at the port of Palos on the 15th of March, 1493; having been seven months and eleven days on this most important voyage.

On his arrival letters patent were issued by the king and queen confirming to Columbus, and to his heirs, all the privileges contained in a capitulation which had been executed before his departure, and his family was ennobled.

Not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus, in considering the countries which he had discovered as a part of India. Whence Ferdinand and Isabella gave them the name ‘Indies’ in the ratification of their former agreement with Columbus. Even after the error was detected the name was retained, and the appellation of ‘West Indies’ is now given by all Europe to this country, and that of Indians to the inhabitants.

Nothing could possibly tend more effectually to rouse every active principle of human nature, than the discoveries which Columbus had made; no time was therefore lost, nor expense spared, in preparing a fleet of ships, with which this great man should revisit the countries he had made known. Seventeen ships were got ready in six months, and fifteen hundred persons embarked on board of them, among whom were many of noble families, and who had filled honourable stations. These engaged in the enterprize from the expectation that the new discovered country was either the Cipango of Marco Paulo, or the Ophir from which Solomon obtained his gold and precious merchandize. Ferdinand, now desirous of securing what he had before been unwilling to venture for the obtaining, applied to the Pope to be invested with a right in these new discovered countries, as well as to all future discoveries in that direction; but as it was necessary that there should be some favour of religion in the business, he founded his plea on a desire of converting the savage natives to the Catholic faith, which plan had its desired effect.

Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair, it ought to be mentioned, was the most profligate and abandoned of men. Being a native of Arragon, and desirous of conciliating the favour of Ferdinand, for the purpose of aggrandizing his family, he readily granted a request, which, at no expense or risk, tended to extend the consequence and authority of the

papacy ; he therefore bestowed on Ferdinand and Isabella, "all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered." But as it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with one not long before made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred miles to the westward of Azores, should serve as a limit between them ; and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards.

Columbus set sail on his voyage from the port of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493. When he arrived at Espagniola, he had the affliction to find that all the Spaniards whom he had left there, amounting to thirty-six in number, had been put to death by the natives, in revenge for the insults and outrages which they had committed. After having traced out the plan of a town in a large plain, near a spacious bay, and given it the name of Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile, and appointed his brother Don Diego, to preside, as Deputy Governour in his absence, Columbus, on the 24th of April, 1494, sailed with one ship and two small barks, to make further discoveries in those seas. In this voyage he was employed five months, and fell in with many small islands on the coast of Cuba, but with none of any importance except the island of Jamaica. Soon after his return to Hispaniola, he resolved to make war with the Indians, who, according to the Spanish historians, amounted to 100,000 men. These having experienced every lawless act of violence from their invaders, were rendered extremely inveterate, and thirsted for revenge, a disposition which appears to have been foreign from their natures. Having collected his full force, he attacked them by night, whilst they were assembled on a wide plain, and obtained a most decisive victory, without the loss of one man on his part. Beside the effect of cannon and fire arms, the noise of

which was appalling, and their effect against a numerous body of Indians, closely drawn together, in the highest degree destructive, Columbus had brought over with him a small body of cavalry. The Indians who had never before seen such a creature, imagined the Spanish horses to be rational beings, and that each with its rider formed but one animal; they were astonished at their speed, and considered their impetuosity and strength as irresistible. In this onset they had beside another formidable enemy to terrify and destroy them: a great number of the largest and fiercest species of dogs which were then bred in Europe, had been brought hither, which, set on by their weapons, without attempting resistance, they fled with all the speed which terror could excite. Numbers were slain, and more made prisoners, who were immediately consigned to slavery.

The character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance, as no impediments, dangers or sufferings could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue. His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologizes for this severity towards the natives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought. The change of climate, and the indispensable labours which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivors were declining daily, whilst such was the irreconcilable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would not have been effectual to regain their good will. This apology seems to have been generally admitted, for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendations unmixed with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted merit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and ex-

tirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions could only originate in weak minds, and can be countenanced only by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny of facts, can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character. That Columbus had formed the design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and consequently before he was apprized of the destruction of the people which he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his proceeding himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs.

Having found the natives peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities. The cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony; for as the grand incentive to undertake distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as Columbus had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize. The Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives, and those were constitutionally so indolent that no allurements of presents or gratification could excite them to labour. To rescue himself therefore from disgrace, and to secure further support, he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter and slavery. Such as survived the massacre of that dread-

ful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountains and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust in order to support life ! a tribute being imposed on them which was rigorously exacted. These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness to amenity ; compelled to labour for the support of life ; a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered insupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims of European avarice. Such are the facts which have been admitted ; yet, strange contradiction ! Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodness ! But should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler ; professing moderation whilst he meditates subversion, and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity when they stopped the career of his ambition ! Ferdinand Columbus, his son and biographer, has, with great address, covered the shame of his father, whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

CHAP. II.

LANDING OF OUR FOREFATHERS.

The English, conducted by John Cabot, in the year 1497, found the way to North America soon after Columbus had successfully crossed the Atlantic ; but as the torrents in that country brought down no gold, and the Indians were not bedecked with any costly ornaments, no attempts were made to explore the country for near a century after its discovery. Sir Francis Drake, who traversed the whole circumference of the globe in one voyage, and in one ship, which had never been achieved before, when afterward annoying the Spaniards in the West Indies, and on the main, gained some knowledge of the eastern shore of the northern continent, as he had before of the western parts about the same parallel. Sir Walter Raleigh, however, was the first navigator who explored the coast, bestowed on it a name, and attempted to settle a colony.

At that time colonization made no part of the system of government, so that there were few stimulants to abandon a native soil for the purpose of seeking possessions in another hemisphere. At length a powerful incentive arose, stronger than the influence of kings, than the love of ease, than the dread of misery. Religion, which had long been converted into the most powerful engine which human subtlety ever made use of to subjugate the mass of mankind, no sooner ceased to be so perverted, than by its own proper force it compelled large bodies of people to renounce every present enjoyment, the instinctive love of

a native soil, rooted habits, and dearest connexions, and to settle in the dreary wilds of a far distant continent.

When England, by a very singular concurrence of circumstances, threw off the papal yoke, state policy so predominated in the measure, that the consciences of men were still required to bend to the discipline, conform to the ceremonials, and assent to the doctrines which the governing powers established. Although a dissent from the church of Rome was considered as meritorious, yet a dissent from the church of England was held to be heretical, and an offence to be punished by the civil magistrate. The human mind, somewhat awakened from a suspension of its powers by a Wickliffe, further enlightened by an Erasmus and Melanthon, and at length called forth into energy by the collision of those two ardent and daring spirits, Luther and Calvin, then began to bend all its attention towards religious inquiries; and exercised all its powers in such pursuits. Hence arose a vast diversity of opinions, which gave rise to numerous sects and denominations of Christians; but as the Protestant establishment in England held it essential to preserve a unity of faith, those novel opinions obtained no more quarter there than under papal power.

In the year 1610, a company of the persecuted religionists, composing the church of a Mr. Robinson, having previously determined to remove to a country where they might be enabled to worship God, agreeable to the dictates of their consciences, emigrated to Holland, and settled in the city of Leyden; where they continued to reside until the year 1620. Although the ecclesiastical laws of Holland did not at this time sanction or condemn the principles of any particular sect of Christians, yet great were the disadvantages under which the emigrants laboured; for notwithstanding the Dutch gave them a welcome reception, and manifested a disposition to treat them with great respect, they never could be prevailed upon by

the former to conform to their mode of worship, or to renounce principles which the English conceived destructive to moral society ; nor did the emigrants here succeed in other respects agreeable to their views. So far from increasing their little flock, they found that in the course of ten years they had experienced a diminution of more than one half their original number ; many in consequence of the impoverished state of the country, had spent their estates and returned to England. Hence it was that the remaining few formed the determination of attempting once more to seek a country better adapted to their pious purposes, and such as would promise a more fruitful abode to their offspring. To some the unexplored parts of America was proposed, and after a day set apart for solemn humiliation and praise to Almighty God, it was resolved that a part of the church should first emigrate to America, and if there meeting with a favourable reception, should prepare an abode for the remainder.

They easily obtained a royal grant of a very extensive tract of land (now called New-England) whither they intended to repair, not to amass wealth, or to exterminate the inhabitants, but to subsist by industry, to purchase security by honourable intercourse with the natives, and to acquire strength under the auspices of freedom.

They made a purchase of two small ships, and on the 5th August, 1620, having repaired to Plymouth (Eng.) for the purpose, were in readiness to embark ; previous to which, they were very affectionately addressed by their pious pastor, Dr. Robinson, who in fervent prayer commended them all to the holy keeping of Him, who rules the destinies of all men.

At 11, A. M. with a fair wind, they set sail, and bid adieu for ever to their native country. Nothing material occurred to obstruct their passage until the 25th, when they experienced a tremendous gale, which threatened them with instant destruction ! For three days successively they were tossed about at the mercy

of the waves. The ships were, however, enabled to keep company until the storm had somewhat abated, when those on board one of them conceived their vessel no longer sea-worthy, abandoned her and were received on board the other.

On the 10th November, they, to their inexpressible joy, discovered land, which proved to be that of Cape Cod, where they with much difficulty the day following succeeding in landing. As soon as on shore, they fell upon their knees and returned thanks to the Almighty for enabling them to reach in safety their place of destination. But although they had thus far succeeded in their views, although they had been enabled to flee from persecution, to cross a wide and boisterous ocean, what was their situation now ! Sojourners in a foreign land ! Traversing the broken and unwrought shores of a wild and unexplored country ! They found here no friends to welcome, or house to shelter them from the inclemency of an approaching winter; on one side they beheld nought but a hideous and desolate wilderness, the habitation of wild and voracious animals, and probably the abode of a race of beings not less wild and unmerciful ! On the briny ocean foaming, and with tremendous roar dashing against the huge and projecting rocks, which, as far as the eye could perceive, marked the sea-beaten shores.

After succeeding, with much difficulty, in discovering a harbour in which their ship could ride with safety, they made choice of ten of the most resolute of their number to explore the adjacent country, and discover, if possible, a more convenient place for their future abode ; who, on the morning of the 16th, provided with a musket each, set out for this purpose. They had not penetrated the woods above three miles, when they discovered five of the natives, which were the first seen by them since their arrival. They were cloathed with the skins of animals, and armed with bows and arrows. The English, with signs of friendship, made toward them, but were no sooner discov-

ered by the savages, than they, with a terrible yell fled with the greatest precipitancy. Night approaching, the English erected a small temporary encampment, and after placing their sentinels, retired to rest. Early the ensuing morning they continued their journey, following for a considerable distance the tracts of the five Indians above mentioned, in hopes thereby to discover their habitations and obtain therefrom a fresh supply of provision, of which they were much in want; but in this they did not fully succeed. At about noon they arrived at an extensive plat of clear ground, near which they discovered a pond of fresh water, and several hillocks of raised earth, which they conjectured to be the graves of the Indians. Proceeding a little further west, they discovered a large quantity of stubble, which they imagined to be that of some kind of Indian grain peculiar to the country; they also discovered a spot where they suspected an Indian hut had recently stood, as they found near by some planks curiously wrought, and a small earthen pot. Proceeding still farther they discovered a number more of the little hillocks of broken ground as above described, and which they now began to suspect to be the place of deposit of something more than the dead! Curiosity leading them to examine more closely one of these, what they had before supposed to be Indian sepulchres, they, to their great surprise, found it to contain a large quantity of the Indian grain (corn) above mentioned! It was still in the ear, and excited to no small degree the curiosity of the English, as they had never before seen any thing of the kind. By a few of the company the discovery was deemed of importance, but by others, who had attempted to eat of the corn in its raw state, it was pronounced indifferent food of little value! They, however, concluded it best to return and make known the discovery to their brethren.

Having succeeded with some difficulty in reaching the place from which they started, they were met by

those whom they had left behind with the most unspeakable joy and satisfaction, to whom they exhibited a specimen of the grain which they had found, and recommended the spot from which it was procured, as the most convenient and suitable at which to abide through the approaching winter. The company accordingly, on the 25th, proceeded for and in safety reached the place abovementioned, with which being so much pleased, they termed *New Plymouth*, in remembrance of the port at which they last embarked in Europe. Here they concluded to abide until such time as further discoveries could be made. They erected a few temporary huts, sufficient to shelter them from the weather, and soon after by mutual consent entered into a solemn combination, as a body politic; and on the 10th December, assembled to form for themselves such a government and laws, as they should deem the most just and equitable; previous to which, the following instrument was drawn up, which being first read and assented to by the company, received their signatures, to wit:

“In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and defender of the faith, &c. having undertaking for the glory of God, advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the north parts of America, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our own convenience and the preservation and support of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto sub-

scribed our names, at New Plymouth, on the 10th day of December, A. D. 1620.”

John Carver,	John Alden,
William Bradford,	John Turner,
Edward Winslow,	Francis Eaton,
William Brewster,	James Chilton,
Isaac Allerton,	John Craxton,
Miles Standish,	John Billington,
Joseph Fletcher,	Richard Bitteridge,
John Goodman,	George Soule,
Samuel Fuller,	Edward Tilley,
Christopher Martin,	John Tilley,
William White,	Thomas Rogers,
Richard Warren,	Thomas Tinker,
John Howland,	John Ridgdale,
Stephen Hopkins,	Edward Fuller,
Digery Priest,	Richard Clarke,
Thomas Williams,	Richard Gardiner,
Gilbert Winslow,	John Allerton,
Edmund Morgeson,	Thomas English,
Peter Brown,	Edward Leister.

The company next proceeded by ballot to the choice of a Governor, and on counting the votes it appeared that JOHN CARVER had the greatest number, and was declared chosen for one year.

On the 19th December, Mrs. Susannah White, the wife of William White, was delivered of a son, which was the first born of the English in New-England.

On the 21st of the same month it was agreed by the company to despatch a second exploring party, by water, to make, if possible, further discoveries. The persons selected for this purpose were Governor Carver, Messrs. Bradford, Winslow, Standish, Howland, Warren, Hopkins, Allerton, Tilley, Clarke, Tinker, Turner and Brown. They embarked at 10 A. M. with a view of circumnavigating the deep bay of Cape Cod. On the morning of the 23d they discovered a large party of the natives on shore, who were employed in cutting up a fish resembling a grampus. By order of Governor

Carver, the English made immediately for the shore, but were no sooner discovered by the Indians, than they, with a yell peculiar to savages, deserted their fish and fled with precipitancy! the English landed and took possession of the fish, which, having enkindled a fire, they cooked and found to be excellent food. They concluded to continue encamped here through the night, and while employed (a few rods from their boat in which their arms were deposited) in erecting a temporary dwelling for the purpose, they were suddenly attacked by a large party of the natives, who discharged a shower of arrows among them. The English, nearly panic struck at so sudden and unexpected an onset, were on the eve of retreating to their boat, when they were reminded by their Governor (a brave and experienced man) of the importance of facing the enemy, and maintaining their ground, as a precipitate flight might prove their total destruction. In the mean time two or three of the company were despatched for their arms, and having obtained them, the whole were ordered to form a close body, and proceed with moderate pace for the boat, and if hard pushed by the natives, to face about and give them the contents of their muskets. The Indians perceiving the English retiring, rushed from their strong coverts, and were on the point of attacking them in the rear with clubs, hatchets, stones, &c. when they received the fire of the latter, which brought three or four of them to the ground. The Indians halted, viewed for a few moments, with marks of astonishment and surprise, their wounded brethren, and then with one general united yell, which probably might have been heard at the distance of three miles, fled in every direction! This was the first engagement between the English and natives in New-England, and probably the first time that the latter had ever heard the report of a musket!

The English embarked and returned immediately to New Plymouth, having been absent four days,

without making any important discoveries. The company despairing of making any discovery of importance during the winter, concluded to remain at their winter quarters until the spring ensuing. The winter proved an uncommonly tedious one, during which a great proportion of the company sickened and died ! Unaccustomed to hardship, and deprived of many of the necessaries of life, they fell victims to the inclemency of the season. Being thus reduced to a very small number, they would have fallen a very easy prey to the savages, had the latter (relying on the superiority of their strength) attacked them, but the natives having by bitter experience learned the effects of their fire arms, although they were daily seen by the English at a distance, not one of them could be prevailed upon to approach them within gun shot, until about the 20th March, 1621, when to their great surprize an Indian came boldly up to them and addressed them in broken English ! He informed them that he belonged to an eastern part of the country, and was acquainted with a number of their countrymen, who came frequently there to procure fish, and of whom he learned to speak their language.

This Indian proved very serviceable to the company, in supplying them with provision, in acquainting them with the state of the country, the number and strength of the natives, and the name of their chief sachem, to whom the land which they improved belonged. The Indian being dismissed with many presents and friendly assurances, the day following returned, accompanied by the grand sachem (Massasoit) and a number of his chief men, to whom the English gave a welcome reception, presenting them with many trinkets which the natives esteemed of great value. With Massasoit a treaty was proposed and concluded the day following, in which it was stipulated that the English and natives were to live amicably together, and that the latter were to furnish the former with provision, and to receive in pay there-

for such articles as the former were willing to part with; which terms both parties continued ever after faithfully to fulfil.

In May, 1621, the English planted their first corn in New-England. In July following their worthy Governor sickened and died! His death was greatly lamented by those of the company who survived him, and by whom he was interred with all possible solemnity. His loving consort survived him but a few weeks. In August the company made choice of Mr. William Bradford to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Gov. Carver.

New-England from this period began to be rapidly peopled by the Europeans. So great was the emigration from the mother country, that in less than six years from the time that the first adventurers landed at New Plymouth, there were seven considerable towns built and settled in Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies.

In the summer of 1627 Mr. Endicot, one of the original planters, was sent over to begin a plantation at Naumkeag, (now Salem.) The June following about 200 persons, furnished with four ministers, came over and joined Mr. Endicot's colony; and the next year they formed themselves into a regular church. This was the first church gathered in Massachusetts, and the second in New-England. The church at Plymouth had been gathered eight years before. In 1629 a large embarkation was projected by the company in England. At the request of a number of respectable gentlemen, most of whom afterwards came over to New-England, the general consent of the company was obtained, that the government should be transferred and settled in Massachusetts.

In 1630, seventeen ships from different ports in England arrived in Massachusetts, with more than 1500 passengers, among whom were many persons of distinction. Incredible were the hardships they endured. Reduced to a scanty pittance of provisions,

and that of a kind to which they had not been accustomed, and destitute of necessary accommodations, numbers sickened and died, so that before the end of the year they had lost 200 of their number. About this time, settlements were made at Charlestown, Medford, Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge and Roxbury.

In the years 1632 and 1633 great additions were made to the colony. Such was the rage for emigration to New-England, that the king and council thought fit to issue an order, February 7, 1633, to prevent it. The order, however, was not strictly obeyed.

In 1635 the foundation of a new colony was laid in Connecticut, adjoining the river which passes through the state. Of this river and the country adjacent, Lord Say and Lord Brook, were the proprietors; and at the mouth of it a fort by their direction was built, which in honour to them, was called Saybrook fort. New-Haven was settled soon after the building of this fort, as was a number of other towns of considerable note in Connecticut. Some difficulty arising among those who first settled at New-Plymouth, a part of the inhabitants, to prevent any serious consequences, removed to a pleasant and fertile island to the S. W. of Cape Cod, now called Rhode Island, while others settled at Providence, Warwick, Taunton, &c. Thus it was, that in the course of a very few years a great part of New-England, which so late was an uncultivated forest, resounding with the yells of savages and beasts of prey, became the place of abode of our persecuted Forefathers.

But this newly settled country was not to be acquired without bloodshed. The natives, although they at first appeared harmless and well disposed toward the new settlers, from the rapid increase and too frequent aggression of the latter, the jealousy of the former was excited, which they soon began more openly to manifest as will appear by what follows.

CHAP. III.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE NATIVES.

THERE was a tribe of Indians which inhabited the borders of Connecticut river from its mouth to within a few miles of Hartford, called Pequots, a fierce, cruel and warlike tribe, and the inveterate enemies of the English; never failing to improve every opportunity to exercise toward them, the most wanton acts of barbarity. In June, 1634, they treacherously murdered a Capt. Stone and a Capt. Norton, who had been long in the habit of visiting them occasionally to trade. In August, 1635, they inhumanly murdered a Mr. Weeks and his whole family, consisting of a wife and six children, and soon after murdered the wife and children of a Mr. Williams, residing near Hartford. Finding however, that by their unprovoked acts of barbarity, they had enkindled the resentment of the English, (who, aroused to a sense of their danger were making preparations to exterminate this cruel tribe,) the Pequots despatched messengers with gifts to the governor of the colonies, the Hon. Josiah Winslow. He being, however, inflexible in his determination to revenge the death of his friends, dismissed these messengers without an answer. The Pequots finding the English resolute and determined, and fearing the consequences of their resentment, the second time despatched messengers with a large quantity of wampum (Indian money) as a present to the governor and council; with whom the latter had a considerable conference, and at length concluded a peace on the following terms:

ARTICLES.

I. The Pequots shall deliver up to the English those of their tribe that are guilty of the deaths of their countrymen.

II. The Pequots shall relinquish to the English all their right and title to the lands lying within the colony of Connecticut.

III. The English, if disposed to trade with the Pequots, shall be treated as friends.

To these articles the Pequots readily agreed, and promised faithfully to adhere, and at the same time expressed a desire to make peace with the Narraganset Indians, with whom they were then at war.

Soon after the conclusion of peace with the Pequots, the English, to put their fair promises to the test, sent a small boat into the river, on the borders of which they resided, with the pretence of trade; but so great was the treachery of the natives, that after succeeding by fair promises in enticing the crew of said boat on shore, they were by them inhumanly murdered.

The Pequots despairing of again deceiving the English in the manner they had lately done, now threw off the mask of friendship, and avowing themselves the natural enemies of the English, commenced open hostilities against them, barbarously murdering all that were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. A few families were at this time settled at or near Weathersfield, (Conn.) the whole of whom were carried away captives by them. Two girls, the daughters of Mr. Gibbons, of Hartford, were in the most brutal manner put to death. After gashing their flesh with their knives, the Indians filled their wounds with hot embers, in the mean time mimicking their dying groans.

The Pequots, encouraged by the trifling resistance made by the English to their wanton acts of barbarity, on the 20th June, 1636, besieged fort Saybrook, in which there were about twenty men stationed. The Indians were to the number of about one hundred

and fifty. They surrounded and furiously attacked the fort at midnight, horribly yelling and mimicking the dying groans of such as had fallen victims to their barbarity; but the English being fortunately provided with a piece of cannon or two, caused their savage enemies to groan in reality, who, after receiving two or three deadly fires from the besieged, retreated, leaving behind them, dead or mortally wounded, about twenty of their number. The English sustained no loss in the attack.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts colony alarmed at the bold and daring conduct of the Pequots, on the 20th of August despatched Capt. Endicot, of Salem, with ninety men, to avenge the murders committed by them, unless they should consent to deliver up the murderers, and make reparation for the injuries which the English had sustained. Capt. Endicot was directed to proceed first to Block-Island, (then inhabited by the Pequots) put the men to the sword and take possession of the island. The women and children were to be spared. Thence he was to proceed to the Pequot country, demand the murderers of the English, a thousand fathom of wampum, and a number of their children as hostages.

Capt. Endicot sailed from Boston on the morning of the 20th. When he arrived at Block-Island, about sixty Indians appeared on the shore and opposed his landing. His men soon however effected a landing and after a little skirmishing drove the Indians into the wood, where they could not be found. The English continued two or three days on the island in which time they destroyed 100 wigwams, and about 50 canoes, when they proceeded for the Pequot country. When they arrived in Pequot harbor, Capt. Endicot acquainted the enemy with his designs and determination to avenge the cruelties practised upon his countrymen. In a few moments nearly 500 of the enemy collected on the shores; but as soon as they were made acquainted with the hostile views of the English, they hastily withdrew, and secreted

themselves in swamps and ledges inaccessible to the troops. Capt. Endicot landed his men on both sides the harbour, burnt their wigwams and destroyed their canoes, killed an Indian or two, and then returned to Boston! Enough indeed had been done to exasperate, but nothing to subdue a haughty and warlike enemy.

Sacacus (chief sachem of the Pequots) and his captains, were men of great and independent spirits; they had conquered and governed the nations around them without controul; they viewed the English as strangers and mere intruders, who had no right to the country, nor to controul its original proprietors. Independent princes and sovereigns, they had made settlements at Connecticut without their consent, and brought home the Indian kings whom they had conquered, and restored to them their authority and lands. They had built a fort, and were making a settlement without their approbation in their very neighbourhood. Indeed they had now proceeded to attack and ravage the country. The Pequots in consequence breathed nothing but war and revenge: they were determined to extirpate or drive all the English from New-England. For this purpose they conceived the plan of uniting the Indians generally against them; they spared no art nor pains to make peace with the Narragansets, and to engage them in the war against the English, to whom they represented that they were bad men, the natural enemies of the natives, and who also were foreigners, overspreading the country, and depriving the original inhabitants of their ancient rights and possessions; that unless effectual measures were immediately taken to prevent it, they would soon dispossess the original proprietors, and become the lords of the continent. They insisted that by a general combination they could either destroy or drive them from the country; that there would be no necessity of coming to open battles; that by killing their cattle, firing their houses, laying ambushes on the roads, in the fields, and wherever they could surprise and destroy them, they might accomplish their

wishes ; they represented that if the English should effect the destruction of the Pequots, they would also soon destroy the Narragansets. So just and politic were those representations, that nothing but that thirst for revenge, which inflames the savage heart, could have resisted their influence. Indeed it is said that for some time the Narragansets hesitated.

The governor of the colonies, to prevent an union between these savage nations, and to strengthen the peace between the Narraganset Indians and the colonies, despatched a messenger to invite Miantinomi, their chief sachem, to Boston. The invitation was accepted by Miantinomi, and while at Boston, with the Governor and Council, entered into a treaty, the substance of which was as follows, viz : That there should be a firm peace maintained between the English and Narragansets, and their posterity : That neither party should make peace with the Pequots without its being first mutually assented to : That the Narragansets should not harbor the enemies of the English, but deliver up to them such fugitives as should resort to them for safety. The English were to give them notice when they went out against the Pequots, and the Narragansets were to furnish guides.

In February, 1637, the English in Connecticut colony, represented to the Governor their desire to prosecute more effectually the war with the Pequots, who yet continued to exercise toward them the most wanton acts of barbarity. They represented that on the 10th January a boat, containing three of their countrymen, was attacked by the enemy, as it was proceeding down the river. That the English for some time bravely defended themselves, but were at length overpowered by numbers. That the Indians, when they had succeeded in capturing the boat's crew, ripped them up from the bottom of their bellies to their throats and in like manner split them down their backs, and thus mangled, hung them upon trees by the river side ! They represented that the affairs of Connecticut colony at this moment wore a most gloomy

aspect: That they had sustained great losses in cattle and goods the preceding years, but were still more unfortunate the present: That a most dreadful and insidious enemy were now seeking an opportunity to destroy them: That they could neither hunt, fish or cultivate their fields, nor travel at home or abroad, but at the peril of their lives: That they were obliged to keep a constant watch by night and day, to go armed to their daily labours and to the houses of public worship! And although desirous to prosecute the war more effectually with the common enemy, they were not in a situation to do it, and therefore humbly prayed for assistance.

The report of the horrid and unprovoked cruelties of the Pequots, practised upon the defenceless inhabitants of Connecticut colony, roused the other colonies to harmonious and spirited exertions against them. Massachusetts determined to send 200 and Plymouth 40 men to assist their unfortunate brethren in prosecuting the war. Capt. Patrick with 40 men was sent forward before the other troops, in order that he might be enabled seasonably to form a junction with the troops in Connecticut who, notwithstanding their weak and distressed state had engaged to furnish 90 men.

On Wednesday, the 10th of May, the Connecticut troops proceeded for their fort at Saybrook. They consisted of 90 Englishmen, and 70 Mohegan and river Indians; the latter commanded by Uncus, sachem of the Mohegans, and the former by Capt. John Mason, who was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Stone, of Hartford, as chaplain. The Mohegans being detached from the English, on their way to Saybrook, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy, whom they attacked and defeated. They killed 22, and took 18 of them prisoners.

Among the prisoners there was one who was recognized as a perfidious villain; he had lived in the fort with the English some time before, and well understood their language; he remained attached to their interest until the commencement of hostilities with

the Pequots, when he deserted the garrison and joined the enemy, whom he served as guide, and through whose instigation many of the English had been captured and put to death. Uncus and his men insisted upon executing him according to the custom of their ancestors, and the English in the circumstances in which they then were, did not judge it prudent to interfere. The Indians enkindled a fire, near which they confined the prisoner to a stake, in which situation he remained until his skin became parched with the heat. The Mohegans then violently tore him limb from limb, barbarously cutting his flesh in pieces, they handed it round from one to another, eating it while they sung and danced round the fire in a manner peculiar to savages! The bones and such parts of the unfortunate captive as were not consumed in this dreadful repast, were committed to the flames and consumed to ashes.

On the 19th, Capt. Mason and his men proceeded for Narraganset Bay, at which place they safely arrived on the 21st. Capt. Mason marched immediately to the plantation of Canonicus, a Narraganset sachem, and acquainted him with his designs, and immediately after despatched a messenger to Miantinomi, to inform him likewise of the expedition. The next day Miantinomi, with his chief counsellors and warriors, met the English. Capt. Mason informed him that the cause of his entering his country with an armed force was to avenge the injuries which the Pequots had done to the English, and desired a free passage to their forts, which they intended to attack. After a solemn consultation, in the Indian manner, Miantinomi observed that "he highly approved of the expedition, and would send men to assist the English, but that they were too few in number to fight the enemy; that the Pequots were great warriors and rather slighted the English."

Capt. Mason landed his men and marched to the plantation of Miantinomi, which, by previous agreement, was to be the place of general rendezvous. In

the evening an Indian runner arrived with information that Captain Patrick, with the men under his command, had arrived at the plantation of Roger Williams, in Providence, and was desirous that Captain Mason should postpone his march until such time as he could join him. Capt. Mason, after mature deliberation, determined however not to wait his arrival, although a junction was considered important. His men had already been detained much longer than was agreeable to their wishes, and the Mohegans apparently were impatient for battle. The little army therefore, consisting of 90 Englishmen, 60 Mohegan and river Indians, and about 200 Narragansets, commenced their march on the 24th, and in the evening of that day reached Nihantick, which bounded on the country of the Pequots. Nihantick was the seat of a Narraganset sachem, who seemed displeased with the expedition, and would not suffer the English to enter his fort. Capt. Mason suspecting the treachery of this fellow, placed a sentinel at night at the entrance of the fort, determined that as he could not be permitted to enter, no one should come out to advise the enemy of his approach.

On the morning of the 25th, Capt. Mason was joined by an additional number of the Narragansets and a few of the Nihanticks. They formed a circle, and brandishing their scalping knives, made protestations how gallantly they would fight, and what numbers they would kill, &c. Captain Mason had now under his command near 500 Indians, in addition to his former force, with whom he early reassumed his march for the head quarters of the enemy. The day proved uncommonly warm, and the men, through excessive heat and want of provisions, were only enabled by night to reach Paucatuck river; where the Narragansets began to manifest great fear, and to inquire of Capt. Mason his real design. He assured them that "it was to attack the Pequots in their fort!" At which they appeared greatly surprized, and exhibited a disposition to quit the English and return home.

Wequash, a Pequot sachem, who had revolted from Sacacus, was the principal guide of the English, and he proved faithful. He gave such information respecting the distance of the forts of the enemy from each other, and the distance they were then from that of the chief sachem's, as induced Captain Mason to determine to attack the latter, which his guide represented as situated at the head of Mistick river. He found his men so much fatigued in marching through a pathless wilderness, with their provision, arms and ammunition, that this resolution appeared to be absolutely necessary. The little army accordingly, on the morning of the 26th, proceeding directly for Mistic, and at sun-down penetrated a thick swamp, where, imagining that they could not be far distant from the fort, they pitched their little camp, between two large rocks, now known by the name of "Porter's rocks," situated in Groton. The sentinels, who were considerably advanced in front of the main body of the English, distinctly heard the enemy singing and dancing through the night at their fort.

The important day was now approaching when the very existence of Connecticut was to be determined by the sword in a single action! And to be decided by the valour of less than a hundred brave men. About two hours before day, the men were aroused from their slumbers by their officers, and after commending themselves and their cause to the Almighty, proceeded with all possible despatch for the enemy's fort. When within a few rods of the fort, Captain Mason sent for Uncus and Wequash, and desired them in their Indian manner to harrangue and prepare their men for combat. They replied that "their men were much afraid, and could not be prevailed upon to advance any farther!" "Go then," said Capt. Mason, "and request them not to retire, but to surround the fort at any distance they please, and see what courage Englishmen can display!" The day was now dawning, and no time to be lost. The fort was soon in view. The soldiers pressed forward, ani-

mated with the reflection that it was not for themselves alone they were about to fight, but for their parents, wives, children and countrymen! As they approached the fort within a short distance, they were discovered by a Pequot sentinel, who roared out "Owanux!" "Owanux!" (Englishmen! Englishmen!) The troops pressed on, and as the Indians were rallying, poured in upon them the contents of their muskets, and instantly hastening to the principal entrance of the fort, rushed in, sword in hand! An important moment this! For notwithstanding the blaze and thunder of the arms of the English, the Pequots made a manly and desperate resistance. Sheltered by their wigwams, and rallied by their sachems and squaws, they defended themselves, and in some instances attacked the English with a resolution that would have done honour to Romans. After a bloody and desperate conflict of near two hours continuance, in which hundreds of the Indians were slain, and many of the English killed and wounded, victory still hung in suspense. In this critical state of the action, Capt. Mason had recourse to a successful expedient. Rushing into a wigwam within the fort, he seized a brand of fire, in the mean time crying out to his men, "we must burn them!" communicated it to the mats with which the wigwams were covered, by which means the whole fort was very soon enwrapt in flames! As the fire increased, the English retired and formed a circle around the fort. The Mohegans and Narragansets, who had remained idle spectators to the bloody conflict, now mustered courage sufficient to form another circle in the rear of them. The enemy were now in a deplorable situation. Death inevitable was their portion. Sallying forth from their burning cells, they were shot or cut in pieces by the English. Many of them, perceiving it impossible to escape the vigilance of the troops, threw themselves voluntarily into the flames!

The violence of the flames, the reflection of the light, the clashing and roar of arms, the shrieks and

yells of the savages in the fort, and the shouting of the friendly Indians without, exhibited a grand and awful scene! In less than two hours from the commencement of the bloody action, the English completed their work. Eighty wigwams were burnt, and upwards of eight hundred Indians destroyed! Parents and children, the sanup and squaw, the aged and the young, perished in promiscuous ruin! The loss of the English was comparatively trifling, not exceeding 25 in killed and wounded.

After the termination of this severe engagement, as the English were proceeding to embark on board their vessels, which fortunately for them, at this moment arrived in the harbour, they were attacked in the rear, by about 300 of the enemy, who had been despatched from a neighbouring fort to assist their brethren. The English gave them so warm a reception, that they soon gave way, and fell back to the field of action, where viewing for a few moments, with apparent marks of horror and surprize, the shocking scene which it presented, they stamped, belowed, and with savage rage tore their hair from their heads! and then with a hideous yell, pursued the English, as if with a determination to avenge the deaths of their friends, even at the expense of their lives. They pursued the English nearly six miles, sometimes shooting at a distance, from behind rocks and trees, and sometimes pressing hard upon them, and hazarding themselves in open field. The English killed numbers of them, but sustained no loss on their part. When a Pequot fell, the Mohegans would cry out, "run and fetch his head!" The enemy finding at length that they discharged arrows in vain, and that the English appeared to be well stocked with ammunition, gave over the pursuit.

In less than three weeks from the time the English embarked at Saybrook, they returned, with the exception of the few killed and wounded, in safety to their respective habitations. Few enterprizes were ever perhaps achieved with more personal bravery;

in few have so great a proportion of the effective men of a whole colony, state or nation, been put to so great and immediate danger; in few have a people been so deeply and immediately interested, as were the English inhabitants of Connecticut at this important crisis. In these respects, even the great armaments and battles of Europe are comparatively of little importance; and it ought never to be forgotten, that through the bravery and unconquerable resolution of less than one hundred men, Connecticut was once saved, and the most warlike and terrible tribe of Indians in New-England completely exterminated.

The few Pequots that now remained alive conceiving it unsafe to inhabit longer a country so exposed to invasion, removed far to the westward; among whom was Sasacus, their principal sachem. On the 25th June the Connecticut troops, under command of Capt. Mason together with a company from Massachusetts, commanded by Capt. Stoughton, were sent in pursuit of them. They proceeded westward, and on the 27th fell in with and attacked and defeated a considerable body of them. They took about 50 of them prisoners, among whom were two sachems, whose lives were offered them on condition of their serving as guides to the English.

The English on their march frequently fell in with small detached parties of the enemy, whom they captured or destroyed, but could not obtain any information relative to the main body commanded by Sasacus. Finding that the two sachem prisoners would not give them the information required, they, on the 29th, beheaded them, at a place called Menunkatuck, (now Guilford,) from which circumstance, the place still bears the name of "Sachems' head." The English, on the 30th, arrived at Quinnipauk, (now New-Haven) where they were informed by a friendly Pequot, that the enemy were encamped in a swamp, a few miles to the westward. The troops pushed forward, and on the succeeding day, arrived at the border of said swamp, which they found a thicket so extremely

boggy as to render it inaccessible to any one but the natives. The English, therefore, thought it most advisable to surround the swamp, and annoy the enemy as opportunity presented. The Indians, after a few skirmishes, requested a parley, which being granted them, Thomas Stanton, interpreter to the English, was sent to treat with them. He was authorised to offer life to such as had not shed the blood of Englishmen. Upon which, the sachem of the place, together with about 300 of his tribe, came out, and producing satisfactory proof of their innocence, were permitted to retire; but the Pequots boldly declared that "they had both shed and drank the blood of Englishmen, and would not upon such terms accept of life, but would fight it out!" The English, unwilling to brook the threats and insulting language of the Pequots, attempted now to devise means to attack the whole body of them without further delay. The officers were, however, divided in opinion as to the mode of attack. Some were for setting fire to the swamp, others for cutting their way through with hatchets, and others for surrounding it with a high fence or palisado. Neither of which plans were, however, fully adopted. As night approached, the English cut through a part of the swamp, by which means its circumference was considerably lessened, and they enabled so completely to surround the enemy as to prevent their escaping during the night. Early the ensuing morning, the Indians perceiving themselves completely hemmed in by the English, made a violent attempt to break through their lines; they were however driven back with great loss. They next attempted to force the line formed by the Connecticut troops, but here they met with a much warmer reception. The contest now became close and severe. The Indians, who were about 600 in number, appeared determined not to yield but at the expense of their lives. One of the most resolute of them, walked boldly up to Capt. Mason, with an uplifted tomahawk, and when about to give the fatal stroke, received a blow from the latter,

who, with his cutlass, severed the head of the savage from his body. The enemy soon after made another attempt to break through the lines of English, and in which, after a violent struggle, they finally succeeded. About 60 of their bravest warriors escaped, the remainder being either killed or taken prisoners. The loss of the English was 11 killed and 20 wounded.

The prisoners taken were divided among the troops, some of whom were retained by them as servants, and the remainder sent to the West Indies and sold to the planters. The prisoners reported that the whole tribe of Pequots was now nearly exterminated; that in different engagements there had been upwards of 2000 of them killed, and about 1000 captured, among whom were 13 sachems; and that six yet survived, one of whom was Sasacus, who had fled with the fragment of his tribe to the country bordering on the Hudson river, inhabited by the Mohawks.

After the swamp fight the Pequots became so weak and scattered that the Mohegans and Narragansets daily destroyed them, and presented their scalps to the English. The few that fled with Sasacus to the westward were attacked and totally destroyed by the Mohawks. The scalp of Sasacus was in the fall of 1638 presented to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts.

Soon after the extermination of the Pequots, the Narragansets, the most numerous tribe in New-England, being displeased with the small power with which they were vested, and the respect which the English uniformly manifested for Uncus, appeared disposed to break their treaty of friendship. Miantinomi, without consulting the English according to agreement, without proclaiming war, or giving Uncus the least information, raised an army of 1000 men and marched against him. The spies of Uncus discovered the army at some distance and gave him intelligence. He was unprepared, but rallying about 500 of his bravest men, he told them they must by no means suffer Miantinomi to enter their town, but must go and

give him battle on his way. The Mohegans having marched three or four miles, met the enemy upon an extensive plain. When the armies had advanced within fair bow-shot of each other, Uncus had recourse to stratagem, with which he had previously acquainted his warriors. He desired a parley, which being granted, both armies halted in the face of each other. Uncus gallantly advancing in front of his men, addressed Miantinomi to this effect: "You have a number of stout men with you, so have I with me. It is a great pity that so many brave warriors should be killed in consequence of a misunderstanding between us two. Come, like a brave man as you profess to be, and let us decide the dispute alone. If you kill me, my men shall be yours; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine." "No! (replied Miantinomi) my men came to fight, and they shall fight." Upon which Uncus falling instantly to the ground, his men discharged a shower of arrows among the Narragansets, and without a moment's interval, rushing upon them in the most furious manner, with a hideous yell, put them to flight. The Mohegans pursued the enemy with the same fury and eagerness with which they commenced the action. The Narragansets were driven down rocks and precipices, and chased like a doe by the huntsman. Many of them, to escape from their pursuers, plunged into a river from rocks of near sixty feet in height. Among others Miantinomi was hard pushed; some of the most forward of the Mohegans coming up with him, twirled him about and so impeded his flight, that Uncus, their sachem, might alone have the honour of taking him. Uncus, who was a man of great bodily strength, rushing forward like a lion greedy of his prey, seized Miantinomi by the shoulder, and giving the Indian whoop, called up his men who were behind, to his assistance. The victory was complete. About 50 of the Narragansets were killed, and a much greater number wounded and taken prisoners. Among the latter was a brother of Miantinomi, and two of the sons of Canonicus, whom

Uncus conducted in triumph to Mohegan. Some few days after, Uncus conducted Miantinomi back to the spot where he was taken, for the purpose of putting him to death. At the instant they arrived on the ground, an Indian, who was ordered to march in the rear for the purpose, sunk a hatchet into his head, and dispatched him at a single stroke ! He was probably unacquainted with his fate, and knew not by what means he fell. Uncus cut out a large piece of his shoulder, which he devoured in savage triumph, declaring in the mean time, that "it was the sweetest meat he ever ate ; it made his heart strong." The Mohegans buried Miantinomi at the place of his execution, and erected upon his grave a pillar of stones. This memorable event gave the place the name of "Sachem's Plains." They are situated in an eastern corner of Norwich.

The Narragansets became greatly enraged at the death of their sachem, and sought means to destroy Uncus, whose country they in small parties frequently invaded, and by lying in ambush, cut off a number of his most valuable warriors. As Uncus was the avowed friend of the English, and had in many instances signalized himself as such, they conceived it their duty to afford him all the protection possible. They dispatched messengers to acquaint the Narragansets with their determination, should they continue to molest and disturb the repose of the Mohegans. The messengers of the English met with quite an unfavourable reception, to whom one of the Narraganset sachems declared, that "he would kill every Englishman and Mohegan that came within his reach ; that whoever began the war, he would continue it ; and that nothing should satisfy him but the head of Uncus !"

The English, irritated at the provoking language of the Narragansets, now determined not only to protect Uncus, but to invade their country with an army of 300 men ; first to propose a peace on their own terms, but if rejected, to attack and destroy them. For this

purpose Massachusetts was to furnish 190, and Plymouth and Connecticut colonies 55 men each.

The Narragansets, learning that an army was about to enter the heart of their country, and fearful of the issue, despatched several of their principal men to sue for peace, on such terms as the English should be pleased to grant. The governor and Council demanded that they should restore to Uncus, all the captives and canoes which they had taken from him, and pledge themselves to maintain perpetual peace with the English and their allies; and to the former, pay an annual tribute of 2000 fathom of white wampum! These indeed were hard terms, against which the Narragansets strongly remonstrated; but aware that the English had already a considerable force collected for the express purpose of invading their country, they at length thought it most prudent to acquiesce.

During the war between the Narragansets and Uncus, the former once besieged the fort of the latter until his provisions were nearly exhausted, and he found that his men must soon perish either by famine or the tomahawk unless speedily relieved. In this crisis he found means of communicating an account of his situation to the English scouts, who had been despatched from the fort in Saybrook to reconnoitre the enemy. Uncus represented the danger to which the English would be exposed, if the Narragansets should succeed in destroying the Mohegans. It was at this critical juncture that the greatest part of the English troops in Connecticut were employed on an expedition abroad; a Mr. Thomas Leffingwell, however, a bold and enterprising man, on learning the situation of Uncus, loaded a canoe with provisions, and under cover of the night paddled from Saybrook into the river Thames, and had the address to get the whole into the fort. The enemy soon after discovering that Uncus had received supplies, raised the siege. For this piece of service Uncus presented said Leffingwell with a deed of a

very large tract of land now comprising the whole town of Norwich.

The English in New-England now enjoyed a peace until the year 1671, when they again took up arms to revenge the death of one of their countrymen, who had been inhumanly murdered by an Indian belonging to the Nipnet tribe, of which the celebrated Philip, of Mount-Hope (now Bristol, R. I.) was sachem. It was thought the most prudent step by the Governor and Council first to send to Philip, and acquaint him with the cause of their resentment, and the course which they were determined to pursue, in case he refused to deliver into their hands the murderer. Philip being accordingly sent for and appearing before the court, appeared much dissatisfied with the conduct of the accused, assuring them that no pains should be spared to bring him to justice; and more fully to confirm his friendship for the English, expressed a wish that the declaration which he was about publicly to make, might be committed to paper that he and his council, might thereunto affix their signatures. The Governor and Council in compliance with the request, drew up the following, which, after being signed by Philip and his chief men, was presented to the Governor by Philip in conformation of his friendly assurances:

“Whereas my father, my brother, and myself, have uniformly submitted to the good and wholesome laws of his majesty, the king of England, and have ever respected his faithful subjects, the English, as our friends and brothers, and being still anxious to brighten the chain of friendship between us, we do now embrace this opportunity to pledge ourselves that we will spare no pains in seeking out and bringing to justice, such of our tribe as shall hereafter commit any outrage against them! And to remove all suspicion, we voluntarily agree to deliver up to them all the fire-arms which they have heretofore kindly presented us with, until such time as they can safely repose confidence in us; and for the true per-

formance of these our sacred promises, we have hereunto set our hands.

Chief Sachem.

Philip's X mark.

Chief men.

Porkanoket's X mark.

Uncombo's X mark.

In presence of the }
Governor and Council. }

Samkama's X mark.

Wocokom's X mark.

Notwithstanding the fair promises of Philip, it was soon discovered by the English, that he was playing a deep game; that he was artfully enticing his red brethren throughout the whole of New-England, to rise, en masse, against them, and drive them out of the country. The Narragansets, for this purpose, had engaged to raise 4000 fighting men. The spring of 1672, was the time agreed upon, on which the grand blow was to be given. The evil intentions of Philip, were first discovered and communicated to the English by a friendly Indian of the Narraganset tribe. Fortunately for them, this Indian had been taken into favour by the Rev. Mr. Elliot, by whom he had been taught to read and write, and became much attached to the English. The Governor, upon receiving the important information relative to the hostile views of Philip, ordered a military watch to be kept up in all the English settlements within the three colonies; by some of whom it was soon discovered that the report of their Indian friend was too well founded, as the Indians of different tribes were daily seen flocking in great numbers to the head-quarters of Philip; previously sending their wives and children to the Narraganset country, which they had ever done previous to the commencement of hostilities.

The inhabitants of Swanzy, a small settlement adjoining Mount-Hope, the head-quarters of Philip, were the first who felt the effects of this war. Philip, encouraged by the numbers who were daily enlisting under his banners, and despairing of discovering cause

that could justify him in the commencement of hostilities against his "friends and brothers," as he had termed them, resolved to provoke them to war by killing their cattle, firing their barns, &c. This plan had its desired effect, as the inhabitants, determined to save their property or perish in the attempt, fired upon the Indians, which was deemed cause sufficient by the latter to commence their bloody work. The war whoop was immediately thereupon sounded, when the Indians commenced an indiscriminate murder of the defenceless inhabitants of Swanzeey, sparing not the tender infant at the breast; but three of seventy-eight persons which the town contained, made their escape. Messengers were despatched with the melancholy tidings of this bloody affair, to the Governor, who by and with the advice and consent of the council, despatched a company of militia with all possible speed, to the relief of the distressed inhabitants residing near the head-quarters of Philip. As soon as they could be raised, three companies were despatched under the command of Capts. Henschman, Prentice, and Church, who arrived in the neighbourhood of Swanzeey on the 28th June, where they were joined by four more companies from Plymouth colony. It was found that the Indians had pillaged and set fire to the village, and with their booty had retired to Mount Hope. A company of cavalry were sent under the command of Captain Prentice, to reconnoitre them; but before they arrived at a convenient place for this purpose, they were ambushed and fired upon by the enemy, who killed six of their number and wounded ten. The report of their guns alarming the remaining companies of the English, they hastened to the relief of the cavalry, who at this moment were completely surrounded by about 600 Indians, between whom and the English a warm contest now ensued. The savages fought desperately, and more than once nearly succeeded in overpowering the English; but very fortunately for the latter, when nearly despairing of victory, a fresh company of militia from Boston arrived;

which, flanking the enemy on the right and left, and exposing them to two fires, soon overpowered them, and caused them to seek shelter in an adjoining wood, inaccessible to the English. The English had in this severe engagement 42 killed, and 73 wounded, many of them mortally. The enemy's loss was supposed to be much greater.

On the 30th Major Savage, who by his excellency the Governor had been appointed Commander in Chief of the combined English forces, arrived with an additional company of cavalry, who with the remaining companies the following day commenced their march for Mount Hope, the head-quarters of Philip. On their way, the English were affected with a scene truly distressing. The savages, not content with bathing their tomahawks in the blood of the defenceless inhabitants of Swanzey, had, it was discovered, in many instances detached their limbs from their mangled bodies, and affixed them to poles, which were extended in the air! Among which were discovered the heads of several infant children, the whole of which, by order of Major Savage, were collected and buried.

The English arrived at Mount Hope about sun-set; but the enemy receiving information of their approach, had deserted their wigwams and retired into a neighboring wood. Major Savage, to pursue the enemy with success, now divided his men into separate companies, which he ordered to march in different directions, stationing 40 at Mount Hope. On the 4th July, the men under the command of Captains Church and Henchman fell in with a body of the enemy, to the number of 200, whom they attacked; the English being but 32 in number, including officers. Victory for a considerable length of time appeared in favour of the savages; but very fortunately for the former, being commanded by bold and resolute officers, they defended themselves in the most heroic manner, until relieved by a company of cavalry under the command of Captain Prentice. The Indians now in turn

finding the fire of the English too warm for them, fled in every direction, leaving 30 of their number dead, and about 60 severely wounded on the field of action. The English in this engagement had 7 killed and 32 wounded, five of whom survived the action but a few hours.

This action, so far from daunting the bold and resolute Capt. Church, seemed to inspire him with additional bravery. Unwilling that any of the enemy should escape, he boldly led his men into an almost impenetrable forest, into which those who survived the action had fled. The Indians perceiving the English approaching, concealed themselves from their view by laying flat on their bellies, in which situation they remained concealed until the English had advanced within a few rods of them, when each unperceived fixing upon his man discharged a shower of arrows among them. This unexpected check threw the English into confusion, which the Indians perceiving, rushed furiously upon them with their knives and tomahawks, shouting horribly! The English, their cavalry being unable to afford them assistance, were now in a very disagreeable situation, the trees being so very large as to render it difficult to use their fire arms with any effect, and they were very soon so encompassed by the savages, as to render almost every effort to defend themselves useless. Of 64 who entered the swamp, but 17 escaped, among whom, very fortunately, was their valuable leader, Capt. Church.

The English finding that they could neither bring their enemies to action in open field, or engage them with any success in the forest in which they were lodged, returned home, with the exception of three companies, who were stationed by Major Savage, near the borders of a swamp, into which it was strongly suspected that Philip with a number of his tribe had fled. This swamp was two miles in length, and to the English inaccessible. Philip, who had been watching the motions of his enemies, perceiving a great part march off, conjectured that their object was to obtain a rein-

forcement. Impressed with this belief, he resolved to improve the first opportunity to escape with a few chosen men, by water, which he with little difficulty effected the succeeding night, taking advantage of a low tide. The enemy were, soon after their escape, discovered and pursued by the inhabitants of Rehoboth, accompanied by a party of the Mohegans, who had volunteered their services against Philip.

The Rehoboth militia came up with the rear of the enemy about sunset, and killed 12 of them, without sustaining any loss on their part; night preventing their engaging the whole force of Philip; but early the succeeding morning, they continued the pursuit. The Indians had, however, fled with such precipitancy, that it was found impossible to overtake them. They bent their course to the westward, exhorting the different tribes through which they passed to take up arms against the English.

The United Colonies became now greatly alarmed at the hostile views and rapid strides of Philip. The General Court was constantly in sitting, and endeavouring to plan means to cut him off before he should have an opportunity to corrupt the minds of too many of his countrymen.

While the court was thus employed, information was received that Philip had arrived in the neighborhood of Brookfield, situated about 65 miles from Boston, and that a number of its inhabitants had been inhumanly butchered by his adherents. Orders were immediately thereupon issued for the raising of ten companies of foot and horse, to be despatched to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants of Brookfield; but before they could reach that place, Philip and his party had entered the town and indiscriminately put to death almost every inhabitant which it contained; the few that escaped having taken the precaution, previous to the attack, to assemble together in one house, which they strongly fortified. This house was furiously attacked by the savages and several times set on fire, and the besieged were on the point of sur-

rendering, when Major Willard happily arrived to their relief. Between the English and the Indians, a desperate engagement now ensued; the former, by the express command of their officers, gave no quarter, but in a very heroic manner rushed upon the savages with clubbed muskets. The action continued until near sun-set, when the few Indians that remained alive sought shelter in the neighbouring woods. In this engagement the English had 22 killed and 72 wounded. The enemy's loss was 217 killed, and between 200 and 300 wounded, who by way of retaliation for their barbarity exercised towards the defenceless inhabitants of Brookfield, were immediately put to death.

The Governor and Council, on learning the fate of the unfortunate inhabitants of Brookfield, despatched a reinforcement of three companies of cavalry to Major Willard, and ordered the like number to be sent him from Hartford, in Connecticut colony, with which he was directed to pursue Philip with fire and sword, to whatever part of the country he should resort.

It being discovered that a part of Philip's forces had fled to Hatfield, two companies of English, under the command of Captains Lathrop and Beers, were sent in pursuit of them, who within about three miles of Hatfield, overtook and attacked them; but the force of the English being greatly inferior to that of the enemy, the former were defeated and driven back to the main body; which enabled the enemy, who had in the late engagement been detached from their main body, to join Philip. On the 13th September, information was received by Major Willard, that the enemy had successfully attacked and defeated the troops under the command of Captain Lathrop; that they were ambushed and unexpectedly surrounded by 1000 of the enemy, to whom they all, except three who escaped, fell a sacrifice! The defeat of Captain Lathrop took place in the neighborhood of Deerfield; for the defence of which, there was an English gar-

rison, which the Indians were about to attack when Major Willard happily arrived; on the approach of whom, the Indians fled.

On the 10th October following, a party of Philip's Indians successfully assaulted the town of Springfield which they pillaged and set fire to, killing about 40 of the inhabitants. On the 14th, they assaulted the town of Hatfield, in which two companies, under the command of Capts. Mosely and Apleton, were stationed. The enemy continued the attack about two hours, when finding the fire of the English too warm for them, they fled, leaving a number of their party behind them dead.

Philip now finding himself closely pursued by a large and formidable body of the English, deemed it prudent to bend his course toward his old place of residence, there to remain until the ensuing spring.

But the Commissioners of the United Colonies, duly reflecting on the deplorable situation of their defenceless brethren throughout the country, aware that there were then a much greater number of their savage enemies embodied than at any former period, who, if suffered peaceably to retire into winter quarters, might prove too powerful for them the spring ensuing, resolved to attack the whole force under Philip in their winter encampment; for the purpose of which every Englishman capable of bearing arms was commanded, by proclamation of the Governor, to hold himself in readiness to march at the shortest notice. The 10th of December was the day appointed by the Commissioners on which the decisive blow was to be given. Six companies were immediately to be raised in Massachusetts, consisting in the whole of 527 men, to the command of which were appointed Captains Mosely, Gardener, Davenport, Oliver, and Johnson. Five companies were raised in Connecticut, consisting of 450 men, to the command of which were appointed Captains Siely, Mason, Gallop, Watts, and Marshall; two companies in Plymouth, of 150 men, who were commanded by Captains

Rice and Goram. Three Majors of the three respective divisions, were also appointed, to wit:—Major Appleton, of Massachusetts, Major Treat, of Connecticut, and Major Bradford, of Plymouth. The whole force, consisting of 1127 men, were commanded by Major General Winslow, late Governor of the Colonies. On the 7th December, the combined forces commenced their march for the head-quarters of the enemy. At this inclement season, it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops were enabled to penetrate through a wild and pathless wood. On the morning of the 9th, having travelled all the preceding night, they arrived at the border of an extensive swamp, in which they were informed by their guides the enemy were encamped to the number of 4000. The English, after partaking of a little refreshment, formed for battle. Captain Mosely, and Captain Davenport, led the van, and Major Appleton and Captain Oliver brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces. General Winslow, with the Plymouth troops, formed the centre; the Connecticut troops, under the command of their respective captains, together with about 200 of the Mohegans, commanded by Oneco, the son of Uncus, brought up the rear.

It was discovered by an Indian sent for that purpose, that in the centre of the swamp they had built a very strong fort, of so wise a construction, that it was with difficulty that more than one person could enter it at one time. About 10 o'clock, A. M., the English, with the sound of the trumpet, entered the swamp, and when within about fifty rods of their fort, were met and attacked by the enemy. The Indians, in their usual manner, shouting and howling like beasts of prey, commenced the attack with savage fury; but with a hideous noise the English were not to be intimidated; charging them with unequalled bravery, the enemy were soon glad to seek shelter within the walls of their fort. The English having closely pressed upon the enemy, as they retreated,

now in turn found themselves in a very disagreeable situation, exposed to the fire of the Indians, who were covered by a high breastwork, they were not even enabled to act on the defensive. At this critical juncture the lion-hearted Oneco, with the assent of General Winslow, offered with the men under his command to scale the walls of the fort, which being approved of by the English commanders, Oneco, with about sixty picked men, in an instant ascended to the top of the fort; where having a fair chance at the enemy, they hurled their tomahawks, and discharged their arrows with such success among them, as in a very short time to throw them into the utmost confusion. Those who attempted to escape from the fort, were instantly cut in pieces by the troops without. The enemy finding themselves thus hemmed in and attacked on all sides, in the most abject terms, begged for quarter, which was denied them by the English. A great proportion of the troops being now mounted on the walls of the fort, they had nothing to do but load and fire, the enemy being penned up and huddled together in such a manner, that there was scarcely a shot lost. This bloody contest was of near six hours continuance, when the English, perceiving the fort filled with nought but dead, or such as were mortally wounded of the enemy, closed the bloody conflict.

The scene of action at this instant was indeed such as could not fail to shock the stoutest heart. The huge logs, of which the fort was constructed, were completely crimsoned with the blood of the enemy, while the surrounding woods resounded with the dying groans of the wounded. The number of slain of the enemy in this severe engagement could not be ascertained; it was however immense. Of 4000, which the fort was supposed to contain at the commencement of the action, not 200 escaped! Among whom, unfortunately, was the treacherous Philip.

After the close of this desperate action, the troops, having destroyed all in their power, left the enemy's

ground, and carrying about 300 wounded men, marched back to the distance of sixteen miles to headquarters. The night proved cold and stormy, the snow fell deep, and it was not until midnight or after that the troops were enabled to reach their place of destination. Many of the wounded, who probably otherwise might have recovered, perished with the cold and inconvenience of a march so fatiguing.

Although the destruction of so great a number of the enemy was considered of the greatest importance to the English, yet it proved a conquest dearly bought. It was obtained at the expense of the lives of a great number of privates, and a great proportion of their most valuable officers; among whom were Captains Davenport, Gardener, Johnson, Siely, and Marshall.

The courage displayed during the action by every part of the army; the invincible heroism of the officers; the firmness and resolution of the soldiers, when they saw their captains falling before them; and the hardships endured before and after the engagement, are hardly credible, and rarely find a parallel in ancient or modern ages. The cold, the day preceding the action, was extreme, and in the night of which the snow fell so deep as to render it extremely difficult for the army to move the day succeeding. Four hundred of the soldiers were so completely frozen as to be unfit for duty! The Connecticut troops were the most disabled, having endured a tedious march without halting, from Stonington to the place of public rendezvous. They sustained too a much greater loss in the action, in proportion to their numbers, than the troops of the other colonies. The bold and intrepid Captain Mason, who received a fatal wound in the action, of which he died in about three months after, was the first after the Mohegans to mount the walls of the fort, nor did the troops under his command fail to follow the noble example. On enumerating the number of slain and wounded, it was found as follows:

Of the Companies commanded by		
Captains Mosely,	10 killed,	40 wounded,
Oliver,	20	48
Gardener,	11	32
Johnson,	18	38
Davenport,	15	19
Gallop,	28	43
Siely,	32	50
Watts,	19	33
Mason,	40	50
Marshall,	25	37
Goram,	30	41
Sachem Oneco,	51	82
<hr/>		
Total,	299	513

The loss of the troops from Connecticut was so great, that Major Treat considered it absolutely necessary to return immediately home. Such of the wounded as were not able to travel, were put on board a vessel, and conveyed to Stonington. The troops on their return killed and captured about 30 of the enemy.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth forces kept the field the greater part of the winter. They ranged the country, took a number of prisoners, destroyed about 300 wigwams, but achieved nothing brilliant or decisive.

The Nipnet and Narraganset tribes being by the late action nearly exterminated, the few who survived, by the direction of Philip, fled in small parties to different parts of the country, improving every opportunity that presented to revenge the untimely fate of their brethren. On the 10th February, 1678, about 100 of them surprised the inhabitants of Lancaster, (Mass.) a part of whom, as a place of greater safety, had the day previous resorted to the dwelling of the Rev. Mr. Rowland; this however being constructed of dry logs, was set on fire by the Indians, which the unfortunate English within being unable

to extinguish, they fell victims to the devouring flames. On the 21st, the enemy attacked the inhabitants of Medfield; 12 of whom they killed, and the remainder made captives.

On the 3d March, the Indians still continuing their depredations, two companies of cavalry, under the command of Captain Pierce and Captain Watkins, were ordered out for the purpose of affording protection to the defenceless inhabitants of towns most exposed to their incursions. On the 5th, they marched to Pautuxet, near where there was a considerable body of Indians encamped, whom on the morning of the 6th, they fell in with and attacked. The enemy at first appeared but few in number; but these were only employed to decoy the English, who on a sudden found themselves surrounded by near 500 Indians, who, with their tomahawks and scalping knives, rushing furiously upon them, threatened them with instant destruction! The English, now acting on the defensive, although surrounded by five times their number, fought with their usual spirit, and were resolved to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible. They were very soon, however, compelled to yield to the superior force of their savage enemies. Only five escaped! This victory, though of considerable importance to the savages, cost them a number of their bravest warriors, 93 of whom were the succeeding day found dead upon the field of action. There were in this engagement about 20 friendly Indians with the English, who fought like desperadoes. One of them observing Captain Pierce unable to stand, in consequence of the many wounds he had received, for nearly two hours bravely defended him. When perceiving his own imminent danger, and that he could afford the Captain no farther assistance, by blacking his face as the enemy had done, he escaped unnoticed.

On the 25th March, a party of Indians attacked and burnt the towns of Weymouth and Warwick, killing a great number of the inhabitants. On the

10th April following, they pillaged and burnt Rehoboth and Providence.

On the 1st May, a company of English and 150 Mohegans, under command of Capt. George Dennison, were sent in pursuit of a body of the enemy, commanded by a son of Miantinomi. On the 8th May, they met with and attacked them near Groton. The Indians, apparently determined on victory or death, displayed an unusual degree of courage; but the English and Mohegans proved too strong for them; who, after destroying a greater part with their muskets and tomahawks, drove the remainder into a neighbouring river, where they soon perished.

On the 23d, Cononchet, sachem of the few scattered remains of the Narragansets, proposed to his council that the lands bordering on Connecticut river, not inhabited by the English, should be by them planted with corn, for their future subsistence; which being approved of by the latter, 200 of the Narragansets were despatched for this purpose. The Governor being apprized of their intentions, despatched three companies of cavalry to intercept them. About 100 of the Mohegans, under the command of Oneco, accompanied the English. The enemy were commanded by Cononchet in person, who first proceeded to Seekonk, to procure seed corn. It was in the neighbourhood of this place that they were first met with and engaged by the English and Mohegans. The enemy, with becoming bravery, for a long time withstood the attack; but being but poorly provided with weapons, they were at length overpowered and compelled to yield to the superior power of their enemies. In the midst of the action, Cononchet, fearful of the issue, deserted his men, and attempted to seek shelter in a neighbouring wood; but being recognized by the Mohegans, they pursued him. Cononchet, perceiving himself nearly overtaken by his pursuers, to facilitate his flight, first threw away his blanket, then his silver laced coat, with which he had been presented by the English a few weeks previous; but

finding that he could not escape from his pursuers by flight, he plunged into a river, where he was even followed by half a dozen resolute Mohegans, who laid hold of him, forced him under water, and there held him until drowned. The loss of the English and Mohegans in this engagement was 12 killed and 21 wounded; that of the enemy was 43 killed and about 80 wounded.

The inhabitants of New London, Norwich, and Stonington, having frequently discovered a number of the enemy lurking about in small bodies in the adjacent woods, by joint agreement voluntarily enlisted themselves, to the number of 300, under the command of Major Palmer, and Captains Dennison and Avery, who, with the assistance of the Mohegans and a few friendly Narragansets, in three expeditions destroyed nearly 1000 of the enemy.

On the 8th June, the Indians assaulted and burnt Bridgewater, a small settlement in the colony of Massachusetts. Forty of its inhabitants fell victims to savage barbarity.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts colony, aware of the danger to which many of the inland settlements were exposed, by frequent incursions of the enemy, and finding it extremely difficult to raise a sufficient force to oppose them in the many parts to which the fragments of the broken tribes had resorted, adopted the policy of sending among them, as spies, such Indians as were friendly and could be depended on; which plan had its desired effect. These Indians representing the force of the English much greater than it really was, and warning the enemy of danger which did not exist, deterred them from acting in many instances on the offensive. One of the friendly Indians, returning to Boston on the 10th of July, reported as follows: "That a large number of Indians were embodied in a wood near Lancaster, which village they intended to attack and burn in a few days; that they had been encouraged to continue the war with the English by Frenchmen from the great

lake, who had supplied them with fire-arms and ammunition.”

On the receipt of this important information, the Governor despatched three companies of cavalry, under the command of Major Savage, for the defence of Lancaster, who unfortunately, by mistaking the road, fell into an ambush of about 350 Indians, by whom they were instantly surrounded. The English exhibited great presence of mind, and repelled the attack of the enemy in a very heroic manner. The savages being however well provided with fire-arms, soon gained a complete victory over the English, whose loss in this unfortunate engagement was 54! The number of killed and wounded of the enemy could not be ascertained, as they remained masters of the field of action.

On the 15th, a severe engagement took place between a company of English cavalry, and about 300 of the enemy, near Groton. The latter were not perceived by the former until they were within a few paces of them, the Indians having concealed themselves in the bushes, when suddenly issuing forth with a hideous yell, the cavalry were thrown into confusion, but instantly forming and charging the enemy with great spirit, they fled in every direction. The cavalry, in attempting to pursue them, were once more ambushed. The contest now became close and severe; the Indians having succeeded in decoying the English into a thick wood, attacked them with great fury and success. The commander of the English being killed, every man sought his own safety. Of 95, of which the company was composed, but 12 escaped. The loss of the enemy was however supposed to be much greater.

On the 12th of August, a party of Indians entered the town of Westfield, killed and took several of the inhabitants prisoners, and burnt several houses. Three of them soon after made their appearance at a house near said town, and fired at the man at his door, who fell. They ran towards him, and one of

them stooping to scalp him, he was saluted by the man's wife with a stroke from a large hatchet, which went so completely into his body that at three different efforts she could not disengage it, and the Indian made off with it sticking in him. A second Indian also made an attempt, when she by a well directed stroke with a stick she had got, laid him on the ground. The third then run, and the other, as soon as he had recovered his feet, followed the example; on which the woman took her husband in her arms and carried him into the house, where he soon after recovered.

On the 17th, a party of Indians commenced an attack on Northampton, but there being a number of English soldiers therein stationed, the enemy were repulsed.

On the 20th, a number of the inhabitants of Springfield were attacked by a party of Indians as they were returning from divine service, and although the former were provided with fire-arms, the enemy succeeded in making prisoners of two women and several children, whom they soon after tomahawked and scalped; in which situation they were the succeeding day found by a party of English sent out in pursuit of the enemy. One of the unfortunate women, although shockingly mangled, was found still alive, and when so far recovered as to be enabled to speak, gave the following account of the fate of her unfortunate companions, to wit: That they were first severally bound with cords; that the Indians soon after built a fire, and regaled themselves with what they had previously stolen from the English; that soon after, a warm dispute arose between them relative to the prisoners, each claiming the women for their squaws (or wives;) that they at length proceeded to blows, and after beating each other for some time with clubs, it was agreed by both parties, to prevent further altercation, that the women should be put to death, which they, as she supposed, carried immediately into execution. 'The unfortunate

narrator received a severe blow on the head, which brought her senseless to the ground, and while in this situation, was scalped and left for dead by her savage enemies!

The inhabitants of Sudbury, with a company of soldiers under the command of Lt. Jacobs, of Marlborough, alarmed at the near approach of the enemy, who, to the number of about 200, were encamped near that place, resolved to attack them at night; accordingly, on the 6th September, they marched within view of them, and at night, as they lay extended around a large fire, approached them unperceived within gun-shot, when they gave them the contents of their muskets. Many of those that remained unhurt, being suddenly aroused from their slumbers by the yells of their wounded brethren, and imagining that they were completely surrounded by the English, whom the darkness of the night prevented their seeing, threw themselves into the fire which they had kindled, and there perished. But few if any escaped. In this attack the English sustained no loss.

On the 25th, a considerable body of the enemy attacked the inhabitants of Marlborough; many of whom they killed and set fire to their houses. A company of the English, who had been ordered from Concord for the defence of this place, were cut off by the savages, and totally destroyed. Two other companies, despatched from Boston for the like purpose, met with the same fate. It appeared that the Governor, on learning the situation of the unfortunate inhabitants of Marlborough, despatched to their relief two companies under the command of Capts. Wadsworth and Smith, who, before they arrived at their place of destination, were informed that the savages had quit Marlborough and proceeded for Sudbury, 12 miles distant, which induced the English to alter their course and proceed immediately for the latter place. Of this it appeared that the enemy had been apprised by their runners, and had laid a plan to cut them off ere they should reach Sudbury, which they

in the following manner completely effected: Learning the course which the English would take, they, within a few rods thereof, stationed 50 or 60 of their number in an open field, who were ordered to retreat into a neighbouring thicket as soon as discovered and pursued by the English. In this thicket, the remainder of the Indians, to the number of about 300, concealed themselves by lying prostrate on their bellies. The English on their arrival, espying the Indians in the field, and presuming them to be but few in number, pursued and attacked them, who very soon retreated to the fatal spot where their treacherous brethren lay concealed, and prepared to give their pursuers a warm, if not a fatal, reception. Here they were closely pursued by the English, who too late discovered the fatal snare which had been laid for them. In an instant they were completely surrounded and attacked on all sides by the savages. The English for several hours bravely defended themselves, but at length were borne down by numbers far superior to their own. Thus fell the brave Captain Wadsworth, and Captain Smith, as well as most of the troops under their command.

The Indians bordering on the river Merrimack, feeling themselves injured by the encroachments of the English, once more resumed the bloody tomahawk, which had been buried for a number of years. On the 1st November they, in a considerable body, entered the village of Chelmsford and Woburn, and taking advantage of their weak state, indiscriminately put to death every inhabitant they contained, sparing not the infant at the breast. On the 9th they burnt the house of a Mr. Ezra Eames, near Concord, killed his wife, threw her body into the flames, and made captives of his children. On the 15th they took prisoner a young woman, sixteen years of age, who by the family with whom she resided, had been placed on a hill in the neighbourhood of their dwelling, to watch the motions of the enemy. The account which the young woman gave of her capture and escape was

as follows: That "on the morning of her capture, the family having been informed that a party of Indians had the day previous been discovered in a neighbouring wood, she, by their request, ascended a hill near the house, to watch their motions, and alarm the family, if seen approaching the house: That about noon she discovered a number of them ascending the hill, in great haste: That she immediately thereupon attempted to evade them by retiring into a thicket: but that the Indians, who it appeared had before observed her, found her after a few moments search, and compelled her to accompany them to their settlement, about 40 miles distant. It was here they gave her to understand she must remain and become their squaw, and dress and cook their victuals: That she remained with them about three weeks; during which time, they made several expeditions against the English, and returned with a great number of human scalps: That on the night of the 6th December, they returned with six horses, which they had stolen from the English, which having turned into a small enclosure, they set out on a new expedition: That she viewed this as a favourable opportunity to escape—to effect which, she caught and mounted one of the horses, and making use of a strip of bark as a bridle, she penetrated a wild and pathless wood, and arrived at Concord, at seven o'clock the morning succeeding, having travelled all the preceding night, to evade the pursuit of the enemy!" In like manner, did one of the children of Mr. Eames (of whose capture mention is made in the preceding page) escape from the Indians, although but ten years of age, he travelled sixty miles through an uninhabited wood, subsisting on acorns!

On the 12th December, a party of Indians attacked and killed several of the inhabitants of Bradford. The Governor of Massachusetts colony, for the protection of the defenceless inhabitants bordering on the Merrimack, ordered the raising and equipping of four companies of cavalry, to the command of which

were appointed Captains Sill, Holyoke, Cutler and Prentice.

On the 23d the above troops proceeded for the borders of the Merrimack, and on the 26th fell in with a considerable body of the enemy whom they engaged and completely defeated. On the 4th January, 1679, Capt. Prentice, detached from the main body, fell in with and engaged about 100 of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Amherst, whom he likewise defeated, but with considerable loss on his part.

On the 6th a son of the brave Capt. Holyoke, of Springfield, receiving information that a number of the enemy in small bodies were skulking about in the woods bordering on that town, with twenty resolute young men marched out to attack them. Falling in with a considerable body of them, an engagement ensued, which though severe, terminated at length in favour of the English. The Indians being furnished with muskets, were unwilling to give ground, and would probably have remained masters of the field of action had not the English received a reinforcement which put them to flight. The loss of the English in the engagement was 5 killed and nine wounded, and that of the enemy 23 killed, and between 30 and 40 wounded.

The savages were no longer confined to any particular tribe or place, but in parties from 50 to 100 were scattered all over the thinly inhabited parts of New-England. A considerable body of them were yet in the neighbourhood of Hadley, Deerfield and Northampton, where they were continually committing their wanton acts of barbarity. Several of the towns above mentioned duly reflecting on the danger to which they and their families were exposed, formed themselves into several companies and made choice of their commanders. On the 4th February, receiving information that there were near 200 Indians embodied in a swamp in the neighbourhood of Deerfield, the above mentioned force marched to attack them. Arriving within view of them about day-break they dis-

covered them in a profound sleep, stretched out upon the ground around their fire. The cavalry immediately thereupon dismounted, and after forming themselves, approached them within pistol shot before they were discovered by the enemy; who, being suddenly aroused from their slumber, and astonished at the unexpected appearance of so many of their enemies, fell an easy prey to the English, who without the loss of a man, killed 120 of them; the remainder, as the only means of escape, having plunged into a river, where probably many of them perished.

Although the English achieved this action without any loss on their part, they were on their return unhappily ambushed by about 400 of the enemy. The English having expended all their ammunition in the late engagement, and being much fatigued, were now in turn likely to fall an easy prey to their enemies, who, with their bloody knives and tomahawks, for the space of an hour attacked them with the greatest success. Not one of the English it is probable would have survived this bold and unexpected attack of the enemy, had it not been for the presence of mind of their brave commander, Capt. Holyoke, who by a stratagem, succeeded in saving a party of them. Capt. Holyoke had his horse killed under him, and at one time was attacked by five of the enemy, whom he beat off with his cutlass. The loss of the English in this unfortunate action was 51 killed, and 84 wounded, many of the latter survived the action but a few days. The defeat and destruction of the English in this engagement was much to be lamented, as among the slain were the heads of several families, who had volunteered their services in defence of their infant settlements.

On the 10th several hundreds of the enemy, encouraged by their late success, appeared before Hatfield, and fired several dwelling houses without the fortification of the town. The inhabitants of Hadley being seasonably apprized of the situation of their brethren at Hatfield, a number of them volunteered

their services and marched to their relief. The Indians, as they were accustomed to do on the approach of the English, lay flat on their bellies until the latter had advanced within bow-shot, when partly rising, they discharged a shower of arrows among them, which wounded several of the English; but they having wisely reserved their fire, now in turn levelled their pieces with the best effect, before the savages had time to recover their legs, about 30 of whom were instantly dispatched and the remainder dispersed.

On the 15th February the Governor of Massachusetts colony receiving information that the Indians were collecting in great numbers under the immediate guidance of Philip, near Brookfield, despatched Capt. Henschman, with 50 men, to dislodge them; who proceeding first to Hadley, was joined by a company of cavalry from Hartford. On the 20th they discovered and attacked a party of Indians near Lancaster. They killed 50 of them, and took between 50 and 60 of their squaws and children prisoners. Capt. Henschman, on his way to Brookfield, discovered the dead bodies of several of his countrymen half consumed by fire, who it appeared had a few days previously fallen victims to the wanton barbarity of the savages.

The scattered remains of the enemy being now so completely harrassed and driven from place to place by the English, a number of them resorted to the western country, then inhabited by the Mohawks; but the latter being on friendly terms with the English and Dutch, who were settling among them, were unwilling to harbour their enemies, and consequently attacked a considerable body of them on the 5th March. The engagement was a severe one; the fugitive Indians being furnished with fire-arms, repelled the attack of the Mohawks with a becoming spirit, but were at length overpowered and completely defeated. The loss on both sides was very great.

On the 20th the Indians took a Mr. Willet prisoner, near Swanzey, and after cutting off his nose and ears, set him at liberty! On the 22d a negro man

who had been for several months a prisoner among the savages, escaped from them and returned to the English, to whom he gave the following information, to wit: That the enemy were concerting a plan to attack Taunton, and the villages adjacent: That for this purpose there were then embodied near Worcester 1000 of them, at the head of whom was Philip; and near one hundred of them were furnished with fire-arms: That a few days previous to his escape, a scouting party arrived and brought in with them two prisoners of war and three human scalps! To frustrate the intention of the enemy, the Governor of Massachusetts colony despatched three companies of cavalry for the defence of Taunton.

The English of Connecticut colony, although but little troubled with the enemy since the destruction of the Pequots, were not unwilling to afford their brethren all the assistance possible in a protracted and bloody war with the common enemy. They accordingly furnished three companies of cavalry, who under the command of the experienced Major Talcott, on the 5th April proceeded to the westward in search of the enemy. On the 11th they fell in with, attacked and defeated a considerable body of them. Apparently by the special direction of Divine Providence, Major Talcott arrived in the neighbourhood of Hadley in time to preserve the town, and save its inhabitants from total destruction! The savages to the number of 500, were on the eve of commencing an attack when they were met by the Major, with the troops under his command. This unexpected relief animating the few inhabitants which the town contained, they hastened to the assistance of the cavalry, who at this moment were seriously engaged with the whole body of the enemy. The savages having gained some signal advantages, victory for a considerable length of time appeared likely to decide in their favour. Fortunately, the inhabitants of Hadley having for their defence a few weeks previous procured from Boston an eight pounder, it was at this critical period loaded by the

women, and being mounted, was by them conveyed to the English, which, being charged with small shot, nails, &c. was by the latter discharged with the best effect upon the enemy, who immediately thereupon fled in every direction. Thus it was that the English in a great measure owed the preservation of their lives to the unexampled heroism of a few women.

The Governor and Council of the United Colonies, taking under serious consideration the miraculous escape of the inhabitants of Hadley from total destruction, and the recent success of the arms of the English in various parts of the country, appointed the 27th day of August, 1679, to be observed throughout the Colonies as a day of public Thanksgiving and Praise to ALMIGHTY GOD. This, it may be well to observe, was the commencement of an annual custom of our forefathers, which to the present day is so religiously observed by their descendants throughout the New-England States.

On the 3d September, the Connecticut troops under command of Major Talcott, and Captains Dennison and Newbury, proceeded to Narraganset in quest of the enemy, who to the number of about 300 had been discovered in a piece of woods. The English were accompanied by their faithful friend Oneco, with 100 Mohegans under his command. In the evening of the 5th they discovered the savages encamped at the foot of a steep hill, on which Major Talcott made arrangements for an attack. The Mohegans were ordered by a circuitous route to gain the summit of the hill to prevent the flight of the enemy. Two companies of cavalry were ordered to flank them on the right and left, while Major Talcott, with a company of foot stationed himself in their rear. Having thus disposed of his forces, a signal was given by the Major for the Mohegans to commence the attack, which they did, and with such spirit, accompanied by their savage yells, that had the enemy been renowned for their valour, they must have been to the highest degree ap-

palled at so unexpected an onset ! After contending a few moments with the Mohegans, the enemy were attacked on the right and left by the cavalry, who with their cutlasses made great havoc among them ; they were, however, unwilling to give ground until they had lost nearly one half their number, when they attempted a flight to a swamp in their rear ; but here they were met by Major Talcott, with the company of foot, who gave them so warm a reception that they once more fell back upon the Mohegans, by whom they were very soon overpowered and would have been totally destroyed had not Major Talcott humanely interfered in their behalf, and made prisoners of the few that remained alive. Among the latter was their leader, a squaw, commonly termed the queen of Narraganset ; and among them an active young fellow who begged to be delivered into the hands of the Mohegans, that they might put him to death in their own way, and sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge, in which they so much delighted ! The English, although naturally averse to acts of savage barbarity, were not in this instance unwilling to comply with the unnatural request of the prisoner, as it appeared that he had in the presence of the Mohegans exultingly boasted of having killed 19 English with his gun, since the commencement of the war, and after loading it for the 20th (there being no more of the latter within reach) he levelled at a Mohegan, whom he killed, which completing his number, he was willing to die by their hands. The Mohegans accordingly began to prepare for the tragical event. Forming themselves into a circle, admitting as many of the English as were disposed to witness their savage proceedings, the prisoner was placed in the centre ; when one of the Mohegans, who in the late engagement had lost a son, with a knife cut off the prisoner's ears ! then his nose ! and then the fingers of each hand ! and after the relapse of a few moments, dug out his eyes and filled their sockets with hot embers ! Although the few English present were

overcome with a view of a scene so shocking to humanity, yet the prisoner, so far from bewailing his fate, seemed to surpass his tormentors in expressions of joy! When nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, and unable to stand, his executioner closed the tragic scene by beating out his brains with a tomahawk!

The few Indians that now remained in the neighborhood of Plymouth colony, being in a state of starvation, they surrendered themselves prisoners to the English; one of whom being recognized as the person who had a few days previous inhumanly murdered the daughter of a Mr. Clarke, was by order of the Governor publicly executed. The remainder were retained and treated as prisoners of war. By the assistance of one of the prisoners who served as a guide, twenty more of the enemy were on the succeeding day surprized and taken prisoners by the English.

The troops under the command of Major Bradford, and Captains Mosely and Brattle, on the 15th September, surprized and took 150 of the enemy prisoners near Pautuxet, among whom was the squaw of the celebrated Philip; and on the day succeeding, learning that the enemy in considerable bodies were roving about in the woods near Dedham, Major Bradford despatched Capt. Brattle with 50 men to attack them; who, the day following, fell in with and engaged about 100 of them. As hatchets were the only weapons with which they were provided, they made but a feeble defence, and were soon overpowered by the English, who took 74 of them prisoners, the remainder having fallen in the action. The above party was commanded by a blood-thirsty sachem, called Pomham, renowned for his bodily strength which exceeded that of any of his countrymen ever met with. He bravely defended himself to the last; being wounded in the breast, and unable to stand, he seized one of the soldiers while in the act of despatching him with the butt of his gun, and by whom

he would have been strangled, had he not been fortunately rescued by one of his comrades.

A general famine now prevailed among the enemy, in consequence of being deprived of an opportunity to plant their lands; numbers were daily compelled by hunger to surrender themselves prisoners to the English; among whom was a Nipnet sachem, accompanied by 180 of his tribe.

On the 12th October Capt. Church, with fifty soldiers and a few friendly Indians under his command, attacked and defeated a party of the enemy near Providence; and on the day following, conducted by Indian guides, discovered a considerable body of the enemy encamped in a swamp near Pomfret. A friendly Indian at first espying them, commanded them to surrender; but the enemy did not appear disposed to obey. Being sheltered by large trees, they first discharged their arrows among the English, and then with a terrible yell attacked them with their long knives and tomahawks. The English meeting with a much warmer reception than what they expected, gave ground, but being rallied by their old and experienced commander, Capt. Church, they rushed upon them with such impetuosity that the enemy were thrown into confusion and dislodged from their coverts. The English had 7 men killed and 14 wounded; among the latter was their brave commander, who received an arrow through his left arm. The loss of the enemy was 32 killed, and between 60 and 70 wounded.

On the 20th information was forwarded to the Governor and Council, that the famous Philip, who had been for a long time skulking about in the woods near Mount Hope, much disheartened by the ill success of his countrymen, was the morning preceding discovered in a swamp near that place, attended by about 90 Seaconet Indians; on which the brave Captain Church, with his little band of invincibles, were immediately despatched in pursuit of him. Captain Church was accompanied as usual by a number of



KING PHILIP.

Mohegans, and a few friendly Seaconet Indians. On the 27th they arrived in the neighbourhood of the swamp, near the border of which he stationed several of the Mohegans, and a few friendly Seaconet Indians to intercept Philip in case he should attempt an escape therefrom. Capt. Church at the head of his little band, now with unconquerable resolution plunged into the swamp, and wading nearly to his waist in water, discovered and attacked the enemy. The Indians were nearly 100 strong, but being unexpectedly attacked they made no resistance but fled in every direction. The inaccessible state of the swamp, however, prevented the English from pursuing them with success. Their dependance was now upon their friends stationed without. Nor did it appear that those faithful fellows suffered so good an opportunity to pass unimproved. The reports of their muskets convinced Capt. Church they were doing their duty; in confirmation of which, he was very soon after presented with the head of KING PHILIP.

Philip, it appeared, in attempting to fly from his pursuers, was recognized by one of the English, who had been stationed with the Mohegans to intercept him, and at whom he levelled his piece, but the priming being unfortunately wet and preventing the discharge thereof, the cunning sachem would yet have escaped had not one of the brave sons of Uncus, at this instant, given him the contents of his musket! The ball went directly through his heart! Thus fell by the hands of a faithful Mohegan, the famous Philip; who was the projector and instigator of a war, which not only proved the cause of his own destruction, but that of nearly all his tribe, once the most numerous of any inhabiting New-England.

It was at this important instant that the English were made witnesses of a remarkable instance of savage custom. Oneco, on learning that Philip had fallen by the hand of one of his tribe, urged that agreeably to their custom, he had an undoubted

right to the body, and a right to feast himself with a piece thereof! Which the English not objecting to, he deliberately drew his long knife from his girdle, and with it detached a piece of flesh from the bleeding body of Philip, of about one pound weight, which he broiled and ate; in the mean time declaring that "he had not for many moons eaten any thing with so good an appetite!" The head of Philip was severed from his body, and sent, by Capt. Church, to Boston, to be presented to the Governor and Council, as a valuable trophy.

The few hostile Indians that now remained within the United Colonies, conscious that if so fortunate as to evade the vigilance of the English, they must soon fall victims to the prevailing famine, fled with their families far to the westward. The English were disposed rather to facilitate than prevent their flight. Having been for a number of years engaged in a destructive and bloody war with them, they were willing that the few that remained alive should escape to a country so far distant that there was no probability of their returning to reassume the bloody tomahawk. Impressed with these ideas, and that the enemy was completely exterminated, they were about to bury the hatchet, and turn their attention to agricultural pursuits; when, by an express, they were informed that the natives in the eastern part of the country (Province of Maine) had unprovokedly attacked and killed a considerable number of the English in that quarter.

To quench the flame which appeared to be enkindling in the east, the Governor despatched four companies of cavalry to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants. The enemy, who were of the Kennebeck and Amoscoggin tribes, first attacked with unprecedented fury the defenceless inhabitants settled on Kennebeck river, the most of whom were destroyed or dispersed by them.

On the 2d November about 700 of the enemy attacked, with their accustomed fury, (accompanied

by their savage yells) the inhabitants of Newchwannick, an English settlement situated a few miles from the mouth of the river Kennebeck. Before they had fully accomplished their hellish purpose, they were surprized by the troops sent from Boston, between whom a most bloody engagement now ensued. The Indians encouraged by their numbers, repelled the attack of the English in so heroic a manner, that the latter were very soon thrown into disorder and driven out of town, where they again formed, faced about, and in turn charged the enemy with unconquerable resolution! The contest now became close and severe. The savages with their terrific yells dexterously hurled their tomahawks among the English, while the latter, with as much dexterity, attacked and mowed them down with their cutlasses! Each were apparently determined on victory or death! The English, at one moment, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the savages, would give ground; at the next, the latter, hard pushed by the cavalry, would fall back. Thus, for the space of two hours, did victory appear balancing between the two contending parties. The field of action was covered with the slain, while the adjacent woods resounded with the shrieks and groans of the wounded. At this critical juncture the English, when on the very point of surrendering, were providentially preserved by a stratagem. In the heat of the action Major Bradford despatched a company of cavalry by a circuitous route to attack the enemy in the rear, which had the most happy effect. The enemy suspecting this company a reinforcement of the English, fled in every direction, leaving the English masters of the field. Thus, after two hours hard fighting, did the English obtain a victory at the expense of the lives of more than half their number! Their killed and wounded amounted to 99! The loss of the enemy was not ascertained; it was however probably three times greater than that of the English.

The day succeeding this bloody engagement, a lieutenant, with 12 men, was sent by the commander to the place of action to bury the dead. When they were a few rods therefrom they were suddenly attacked by about 100 of the enemy who had lain in ambush. The lieutenant ordered his men to reserve their fire until they could discharge with the best effect upon the enemy, by whom they were soon surrounded and furiously attacked on all sides. The savages yelling horribly, brandishing their long knives in the air, yet crimsoned with the blood of their countrymen. The brave little band, however, remained firm and undaunted, and as the savages approached them, each taking proper aim, discharged with so good effect upon them, that the Indians, amazed at the instantaneous destruction of so many of their comrades, fled in every direction. The English sustained no loss.

On the 5th the enemy successfully attacked the inhabitants of the villages of Casco; 30 of whom they killed, and made prisoners the family of a Mr. Bracket, who on the 7th made their escape in the following manner: The Indians, on their return to their wigwams, learning that a detached party of their brethren had attacked with success and plundered the village of Arowsick, to enjoy a share of the spoil hastened to join them, leaving the prisoners in the care of two old men and three squaws. Mr. Bracket, whose family consisted of himself, wife, three small children and a negro lad, viewed this a favourable opportunity to escape; to effect which he requested the lad to attempt and escape by flight, who being uncommonly active he easily effected. The plan of Mr. Bracket had now its desired effect; as the old men, pursuing the negro, left him and his family guarded only by three squaws, whom (being intoxicated) he soon despatched, and returned the day following with his family to Casco, where the negro lad had arrived some hours before.

On the 15th the Indians attacked the dwelling houses of a Captain Bonithon and Major Phillips, situated on the east side of Casco river. Having seasonable notice of the hostile views of the enemy, the family of the former, as a place of greater safety, had resorted to the house of the latter a few moments previous to the attack. The savages first communicated fire to the house of Captain Bonithon; next proceeded furiously to attack the dwelling of Major Phillips, in which there were about twenty persons, by whom it was most gallantly defended. The enemy had their leader and a number of their party killed by the fire of the English. Despairing of taking the house by assault, they adopted a new plan of communicating fire thereto. They procured a carriage on which they erected a stage, in front of which was a barricade rendered bullet proof, to which long poles were attached nearly 20 feet in length, and to the ends were affixed every kind of combustible, such as birch rinds, straw, pitch pine, &c. The Indians were sheltered by the barricade from the fire of the English, while they approached the walls of the house with their carriage. The English were now on the eve of despairing, when fortunately one of the wheels of the carriage, being brought in contact with a rock, was turned completely round, which exposed the whole body of Indians to their fire! This unexpected opportunity was improved with the greatest advantage by the English, who with a few rounds soon dispersed the enemy with no inconsiderable loss.

The day following the Indians set fire to the house of a Mr. Wakely, whom with his whole family they murdered. A company of English, apprized of their dangerous situation, marched to their relief, but arrived too late to afford them assistance. They found the house reduced to ashes; among which they found the mangled bodies of the unfortunate family half consumed by fire.

The savages, emboldened by their late success, on the 20th attacked a small settlement on the Piscataqua river, and succeeded in murdering a part, and carrying away the remainder of the inhabitants into captivity. As an instance of their wanton barbarity, it should be here mentioned, that after tomahawking and scalping one of the unfortunate women of the above place, they bound to the dead body her little infant; in which situation it was the succeeding day discovered by the English, attempting to draw nourishment from its mother's breast.

The Governor and Council of the United Colonies, conceiving it their duty if possible to put a final stop to the ravages of the enemy in the east, and to prevent the further effusion of innocent blood, despatched Major Wallis and Major Bradford, with six companies under their command, to destroy, "root and branch," the common enemy. On the 1st December they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kennebeck, near where they were informed the main body of the enemy were encamped. On the morning of the 3d, about the break of day, they fell in with and attacked them. The enemy, who were about 800 strong, appeared disposed to maintain their ground. They fought with all the fury of savages, and even assailed the English from the tops of lofty trees, which they ascended for the purpose. They were possessed of but few fire-arms, but hurled their tomahawks with inconceivable exactness, and checked the progress of the cavalry with long spears. Victory for a long time remained doubtful. The ground being covered with snow, greatly retarded the progress of the troops, who probably would have met with defeat had not a fresh company of infantry arrived in time to change the fortune of the day. These, having remained inactive as a body of reserve, the commander found himself under the necessity of calling to his aid. The enemy, disheartened at the unexpected arrival of the English, fled with precipitancy to the woods; but very few of them, however, escaped; more than 200

of whom remained dead on the field of action, and double that number were mortally wounded! The loss of the English was 55 killed and 97 wounded! This engagement, which proved a decisive one, was of the greatest importance to the English. The great and arduous work was now completed. The few remaining Indians that inhabited the eastern country now expressed a desire to bury the bloody hatchet, and to make peace with the English. Their request was cheerfully complied with, and they continued ever after the faithful friends of the English.

CHAPTER IV.

INVASION OF NEW-YORK AND NEW-ENGLAND, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF SCHENECTADY BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS.

In the year 1690 the Mohawks, having made several successful expeditions against the Canadians, the Count Frontenac, to raise the depressed spirits of the latter, despatched several parties of French and Indians to attack the frontier settlements of New-York and New-England. A detachment of nearly 500 French and Indians under the command of Monsieurs P. Aillebout, De Waulet and Le Wayne, were despatched from Montreal for this purpose. They were furnished with every thing necessary for a winter's campaign. After a march of twenty-two days, they, on the 8th February, reached Schenectady. They had on their march been so reduced, as to harbor thoughts of surrendering themselves prisoners of war to the English; but their spies (who had been for several days in the village, entirely unsuspected) representing in so strong terms the defenceless state of the inhabitants, as determined them to make an im-

mediate attack. They found the gates open and unguarded. They entered them about eleven o'clock at night, and the better to effect their hellish purpose, divided their main body into several distinct parties of six or seven men each! The inhabitants were in a profound sleep, and unalarmed until the enemy had broken open their doors and with uplifted tomahawks were surrounding their beds! Before they had time to rise, the savages began the perpetration of the most inhuman barbarities! No language can express the cruelties which were committed! In less than one hour, two hundred of the unfortunate inhabitants were slain and the whole village enwrapt in flames! A detail of the cruelties committed by the barbarians, cannot be read without horror. They ravished, rifled, murdered and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or excitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity! Pregnant women were ripped open and their infants cast into the flames or dashed against the posts of the doors!! Such monsters of barbarity ought certainly to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. A very few of the inhabitants escaped, who in their shirts (in a severe and stormy night) fled to Albany. Twenty-five of the fugitives in their flight perished with cold. The enemy, after destroying the inhabitants, killed all the horses and cattle which they could find, with the exception of about thirty of the former, which they loaded with their plunder and drove off.

When the news of the horrid massacre reached Albany, an universal fear and consternation seized the inhabitants. The country became panic struck; and many entertained thoughts of destroying the town and abandoning that part of the country to the enemy.

A second party of the enemy which Count Frontenac had detached from the main body at the

three rivers, under the command of *Sieur Hartel*, an officer of distinguished character in Canada, on the 15th February fell upon *Salmon Falls* (a plantation on the river which divides *New-Hampshire* from the province of *Maine*.) This party consisted of about 70 men; more than half of whom were *Indians*. They commenced the attack at break of day, in three different places; and although the inhabitants were surprised, yet they fled to their arms and defended themselves with bravery which even their enemies applauded; but they were finally overpowered by numbers, and forty-three of them, men, women and children, fell victims to savage barbarity. The depredations of the *French* and *Indians* filled the inhabitants of the western country with fear and alarm. The Assembly of *New-York* conceived it necessary to make every exertion to prevent the settlement of the *French* at *Albany*. It was resolved that two companies of 100 men each should be raised and sent forward for that purpose. For the defence of the frontier towns in *New-England*, it was ordered that a constant watch should be kept in the several towns, and that all males, above 18 and under 60 years of age, should be held in readiness to march at the shortest notice. On the 20th March, at a proposed meeting of Commissioners from *New-York* and *New-England*, a plan was proposed and adopted for invading Canada. Eight hundred men were ordered to be raised for the purpose; the quotas of several colonies were fixed, and general rules adopted for the management of the army.

A small vessel was sent express to *England* the beginning of April, carrying a representation of the exposed state of the colonies and the necessity of the reduction of Canada. A petition was also forwarded to his majesty for a supply of arms and ammunition, and a number of frigates to attack the enemy by water, while the colonial troops made an invasion by land. *John Winthrop, Esq.* was appointed major-general and commander in chief of the land

army, and arrived with the troops under his command near the falls at the head of Wood Creek, early in the month of August.

When the army arrived at the place appointed for the rendezvous of the Indians from the Five Nations, (who had engaged to assist the English;) instead of meeting with that powerful body which they expected, and which the Indians had promised, there were no more than 70 warriors from the Mohawks and Oneidas! When the General had advanced about 100 miles, he found that there were not canoes sufficient to transport one half the English across the lake. Upon representing to the Indians the impossibility of the army's crossing into Canada without a much greater number of canoes, they replied that it was then too late in the season to make canoes, as the bark would not peel. In short, they artfully evaded every proposal, and finally told the general and his officers that they looked too high and advised them only to attack Chambly, and the out settlements on this side of St. Lawrence. Thus did these Indians, who a few years before, had so harrassed all the French and Indians in Canada, exhibit the greatest proofs of cowardice! The English finding it impossible to cross the lake with advantage, returned to Albany. Thus the expedition unfortunately failed.

In the year 1693 Count Frontenac, finding that he could not accomplish a peace with the Mohawks, who of all the Indians had been by far the most destructive to the settlements in Canada, determined on their destruction. He collected an army of about 700 French and Indians, and having supplied them with every thing necessary for a winter campaign, sent them against the Mohawk castles. They commenced their march from Montreal on the 15th January, 1693. After enduring incredible hardships they fell in with the first castle about the 10th February. The Mohawks, unprepared for an attack, had not any idea of the approach of the Canadians.

The enemy killed and captured about 50 of the Mohawks at this castle and then proceeded for the second, at which they were equally successful. A great part of the Mohawks were at Schenectady, and the remainder perfectly secure. When they arrived at the 3d castle they found about eighty warriors collected at a war-dance, as they designed the next day to go upon an enterprise against their enemies. A conflict ensued, in which the Canadians, after losing about 30 men, were victorious, and the third castle was taken. The Canadians in their descent took near three hundred prisoners, principally women and children. The brave Colonel Schuyler of Albany, (received information of the approach of the enemy,) at the head of a party of the volunteers of about 400 English and Dutch, pursued them. On the 25th February he was joined by about 300 Indians, whom he found lodged in a fortified camp. The Canadians made three successful sallies upon the colonel, and were as often repulsed; he kept his ground, waiting for provisions and a reinforcement from Albany. The enemy at length taking the advantage of a violent snow-storm, escaped and marched to Canada. The day following Capt. Sims, with a reinforcement and a supply of provisions, arrived from Albany, and the day succeeding the colonel reassumed the pursuit; but the Canadians luckily finding a cake of ice across the north branch of Hudson river, made their escape, they were, however, so closely pursued by the English and Dutch, that they could not prevent the escape of most of their prisoners, who all, with the exception of nine or ten, returned in safety to their country. Colonel Schuyler lost 12 of his party, and had 19 wounded. According to the report of the captives, the enemy lost 50 men, five of whom were French officers, and two Indian guides, and had about 70 wounded. The Mohawks on their return found about 40 dead bodies of the enemy, which they scalped and devoured; indeed so great was their hunger.

CHAPTER V.

Massacre of the Inhabitants of Deerfield, and
CAPTIVITY OF THE REV. JOHN WILLIAMS AND
FAMILY BY THE SAVAGES.

On the 29th February, 1703, a large body of Indians from the frontiers assaulted the town of Deerfield. They entered the town about midnight, and commenced an indiscriminate butchery of the defenceless inhabitants. Among others, they attacked the house of Rev. Mr. Williams, pastor of the parish. The following are the particulars of the melancholy transaction, as related by Mr. Williams.

“ They came to my house in the beginning of the onset, and by their violent endeavours to break open doors and windows, with axes and hatchets, awaked me out of sleep; on which I leaped out of bed, and running towards the door, perceived the enemy making their entrance into the house. I called to awaken two soldiers, in the chamber; and returned towards my bed-side, for my arms. The enemy immediately broke into the room, I judge to the number of 20, with painted faces, and hideous acclamations. I reached up my hands to the bed-tester, for my pistol, uttering a short petition to God for everlasting mercies for me and mine, on account of the merits of our glorified Redeemer. Taking down my pistol, I cocked it, and put it to the breast of the first Indian who came up: but my pistol missing fire, I was seized by three Indians, who disarmed me, and bound me naked, as I was in my shirt, and so I stood for the space of an hour. Binding me, they told me that I was to be

carried to Quebec. My pistol missing fire was the occasion of my life's being preserved ; since which I have also found it profitable to be crossed in my own will. The judgment of God did not long slumber against one of the three which took me, who was a captain, for by sun-rise, he received a mortal shot from my next neighbour's house ; who opposed so great a number of French and Indians as three hundred, and yet were no more than seven men in an ungarrisoned house.

“ I cannot relate the distressing care I had for my dear wife, who had lain in but a few weeks before ; and for my poor children, family and Christian neighbours. The enemy fell to rifling the house, and entered in great numbers into every room of the house. I begged of God to remember mercy in the midst of judgment ; that he would so far restrain their wrath, as to prevent their murdering us ; that we might have grace to glorify his name, whether in life or death ; and, as I was able, committed our state to God. The enemies who entered the house were all of them Indians and Macquas, insulted over me a while ; holding up hatchets over my head, threatening to burn all I had ; but yet God, beyond expectation, made us in a great measure to be pitied ; for though some were so cruel and barbarous as to take and carry to the door two of my children, and murder them, as also a negro woman, yet they gave me liberty to put on my clothes, keeping me bound with a cord on one arm, till I put on my cloathes to the other ; and then changing my cord, they let me dress myself, and then pinioned me again : Gave liberty to my dear wife to dress herself, and our children. About an hour after sun-rise, we were all carried out of the house, for a march, and saw many of my neighbour's houses in flames, perceiving the whole fort, one house excepted, to be taken. Who can tell what sorrows pierced our souls when we saw ourselves carried from God's sanctuary, to go into a strange land, exposed to so many trials ? The journey being at least three

hundred miles we were to travel; the snow up to the knees, and we never inured to such hardships and fatigues; the place we were to be carried to, a popish country. Upon my parting from the town, they fired my house and barn. We were carried over the river, to the foot of the mountain, about a mile from my house, where we found a great number of our Christian neighbors, men, women and children, to the number of an hundred, nineteen of whom were afterwards murdered by the way, and to starve to death, near Coos, in a time of great scarcity or famine which the savages underwent there. When we came to the foot of the mountain, they took away our shoes and gave us, in the room of them, Indian shoes, to prepare us for our travel. Whilst we were there, the English beat out a company, that remained in the town, and pursued them to the river, killing and wounding many of them; but the body of the army being alarmed, they repulsed those few English that pursued them.

“After this, we went up the mountain, and saw the smoke of the fires in town, and beheld the awful desolation of Deerfield: and before we marched any farther, they killed a sucking child of the English. There were slain by the enemy, of the inhabitants of our town, to the number of thirty-eight, besides nine of the neighbouring towns.

“When we came to our lodging place, the first night they dug away the snow, and made some wigwams, cut down some of the small branches of spruce trees to lie down on, and gave the prisoners somewhat to eat; but we had but little appetite. I was pinioned and bound down that night, and so I was every night whilst I was with the army. Some of the enemy who brought drink from the town, fell to drinking, and in their drunken fit they killed my negro man, the only dead person I either saw at the town, or in the way. In the night an Englishman made his escape. In the morning I was called for, and ordered by the general to tell the English, that if any more made their escape, they would burn the rest of the prisoners. He

that took me was unwilling to let me speak with any of the prisoners as we marched; but, early on the second day, he being appointed to the guard rear, I was put into the hands of my other master, who permitted me to speak to my wife, when I overtook her, and to walk with her, to help her in her journey."

After a fatiguing journey of ten or twelve days, the Indians reached their village with their prisoners to the number of thirty or forty, by whom they were held in captivity, enduring almost incredible hardships, until the 25th October following, when an ambassador from Boston, Samuel Appleton, Esq. was despatched to redeem such as had survived. They took passage at Quebec, and to the number of fifty-seven, arrived in safety at Boston on the 21st November.

The Indians continued their depredations upon the defenceless inhabitants on the frontiers, until the year 1725, when a treaty of peace was signed between commissioners appointed by the General Court at Boston, and the Chiefs of the hostile Indian tribes. A long peace followed, and the Indians generally manifested a disposition to remain on friendly terms with the English, and it was supposed that they never would again be disposed to hostilities, had they not been under the immediate influence of French interest.

War was declared between France and England in March, 1744. The first year of the war no Indians made their appearance in this part of the country. They had found by experience, that to maintain an open trade with the English was greatly to their interest, and consequently at first entered into the war with reluctance.

The first mischief done by the enemy, in this part of the country, in the course of this war, was in July, 1745; when a few Indians came to a place called the Great Meadow, about 16 miles above fort Drummer, on Connecticut river; two of whom captivated William Phipps, as he was hoeing his corn.

October 11. The fort at the Great Meadow was attacked by a large party of French and Indians.

The attack was bold and furious, but without success. No lives were lost. Nehemiah Howe was taken captive and carried to Quebec, where he soon died. The enemy, on their return, met one David Rugg, with another person, passing down Connecticut river in a canoe. Rugg they killed and scalped, but the other with some difficulty made his escape.

On the 22d of the same month a large party of the enemy came to the upper Ashwolot, with a design to have taken the fort by surprise, but being discovered by a person who was providentially at that time at a little distance from the garrison, they were disconcerted. An action however ensued, which continued for some time. The enemy finally withdrew. In this action John Bullard was killed, Nathan Blake was captivated, and the wife of Daniel M'Kinne, being out of the fort, was overtaken and stabbed. Before the enemy retired they burnt several buildings, which was supposed to have been done not so much for the sake of mischief as to conceal their dead, there being many human bones afterwards found among the ashes.

August 3. A body of the enemy appeared at No. 4. Suspicions of their approach were excited by the yelling of dogs. A scout was sent out from the fort, and had proceeded but a few rods before they were fired upon. Ebenezer Phillips was killed; the remainder made their escape to the fort. The enemy surrounded the garrison, and endeavoured for three days to take it; but finding the efforts ineffectual they withdrew, after having burnt several buildings, and killed all their cattle, horses, &c. they could find.

Aug. 11. Benjamin Wright, of Northfield, riding in the woods, was fired on and mortally wounded. He died in a few hours after.

Aug. 20. An army of about 9000 French and Indians, under command of Gen. De Vaudreuil, made an attack on fort Massachusetts. The fort was commanded by Col. Hawks, who, unfortunately, was not in a situation to defend it against such a force, having

but 37 persons, men, women and children, in the fort ; and being miserably provided with ammunition. With great fortitude he defended it for 28 hours, and had not his ammunition failed, it is probable he never would have given up the fort. He was finally necessitated to capitulate ; and he offered such articles as were accepted by De Vandruel. One special article in this capitulation was, that none of the prisoners should be delivered into the hands of the Indians. The next day, however, Vandruel divided the prisoners, and delivered them one half, in open violation and contempt of the article. The Indians immediately killed one, who, by reason of sickness, was unable to travel. The prisoners, were in general, treated with civility ; most of whom were afterwards redeemed. Col. Hawks lost but one man in the siege. Gen. De Vandruel, according to the best accounts the prisoners could obtain, lost 45, who were either killed outright, or died of their wounds.

Immediately after the capture of the fort a party of about 50 Indians came on for the purpose of committing depredations upon Deerfield. They came first upon a hill, at the south-west corner of the south meadow, where they discovered ten or twelve men and children to work, in a situation in which they might all with ease be made prisoners. Had they succeeded in their design, which was to obtain prisoners rather than scalps, it is probable that events would not have been so disastrous as they proved. They were disconcerted by the following circumstance. Mr. Eleazer Hawks was out that morning a fowling, and was providentially at the foot of the hill when the enemy came down ; who seeing him, supposed they were discovered, and immediately fired upon him, killed and scalped him. This gave an alarm to the people in the meadow, some of whom were but a few rods distant. The enemy were now sensible that what they did must be done with despatch. Accordingly they rushed into the meadow,

fired on Simeon Amsden, a lad, beheaded and scalped him. Messrs. Samuel Allen, John Sadler and Adonijah Gillet, ran a few rods and made a stand under the bank of the river, where they were attacked with fury, and fought a little time with great bravery; they were, however, soon overpowered with numbers. Allen and Gillet fell. Sadler, finding himself alone, ran across the river and made his escape, amidst a shower of balls. While this was passing, Oliver Amsden was pursued a few rods, overtaken and stabbed, after having his hands and fingers cut in pieces by endeavouring to defend himself against the knives of the enemy. At the same time three children, by the name of Allen, were pursued. Eunice, one of three, was struck down with a tomahawk, which was sunk into her head; but by reason of the haste in which the enemy retreated, she was left unscalped, and afterwards recovered. Caleb Allen of Deerfield, made his escape; and Samuel was taken captive, who was the only prisoner taken at this time.

This lad, after a year and nine months, was redeemed. Col. Hawks, who was sent to Canada for the purpose of redeeming captives, inquiring for the lad, was informed, that he was unwilling to be seen, and that he expressed great dissatisfaction on hearing of his arrival. When he was brought into the presence of Col. Hawks he was unwilling to know him, although he was his uncle, and had always been acquainted with him in Deerfield! Neither would he speak in the English tongue, not that he had forgotten it, but to express his unwillingness to return. He made use of various arts that he might not be exchanged; and finally could not be obtained but by threats, and was brought off by force. In this we see the surprising power of habit. This youth had lost his affection for his country and his friends in the course of one year and nine months; and had become so attached to the Indians, and their mode of living, as to

consider it the happiest life. This appears the more surprising when we consider, that he fared extremely hard, and was reduced almost to a skeleton.

Aug. 26. Capt. Hobbs, passing through the woods from No. 4 to fort Shirly, with 40 men, and being about 12 miles north-west of fort Dummer, was attacked by a large body of the enemy, who had pursued him. It being in the middle of the day he made a stand, that his men might receive some refreshment. While they were dining, the scout, which were sent upon the back tract, were fired on. Upon this Capt. Hobbs put his men in as much readiness for an action as two or three minutes would admit of. The enemy came on with great fury, expecting, no doubt, an immediate surrender; but Capt. Hobbs gave them a warm reception, and fought for three hours with such boldness and fortitude that, had he and his men been Romans, they would have received a laurel, and their names handed down with honour to the latest posterity. The enemy finally fled in haste, and with great loss. Capt. Hobbs, in this action lost but three men, and had but three wounded. Those killed were Ebenezer Mitchell, Eli Scott and Samuel Gunn.

Aug. 2. About 200 of the enemy made their appearance at fort Massachusetts, which was then under the command of Capt. Ephraim Williams. A scout was first fired upon, which drew out Capt. Williams, with about 30 men. An attack begun which continued for some time; but finding the enemy numerous, Capt. Williams fought upon the retreat till he had again recovered the fort. The enemy soon withdrew, and with what loss was unknown. In this action one Abbot was killed, and Lieut. Hawley and Ezekiel Wells were wounded, but recovered.

This is the last instance of mischief done by the enemy in the western frontiers, in what is called the first French war. Peace, however, was not finally settled with the Indians until October, 1748, when a treaty was held at Falmouth, by commissioners from

the General Court and the Chiefs of the Indian tribes, by whom a former treaty, with some additions, were renewed.

From this important period, which being the 15th day of October, 1749, ought the peace and prosperity of the now flourishing States of New-England to receive their date. It was at this period that her hardy sons quit the sanguinary field, and exchanged their implements of death for such as were better calculated for the cultivation and tillage of their farms. The forests, with which they were encompassed, no longer abounded with fierce and untutored savages; the Indian death song and war-whoop was no longer heard; the greater part of the Indians that survived the many bloody engagements had sought peace and retirement far westward; the prisoners which the English had captured were liberated, on condition of resorting to, and remaining with them. They proved faithful to their promise. They took possession of the country bounding on the great lakes, and in possession of which their descendants remain to the present day. A description of whose manners and customs will be found in the succeeding chapter.

We shall close this chapter with a few remarks relative to the state, customs and ludicrous opinions of the Indians, in New-England, when first visited by our forefathers, and of their rapid depopulation since that period.

We cannot even hazard a conjecture respecting the Indian population of New-England, at the time of its first settlement by the English. Capt. Smith, in a voyage to this coast, in 1614, supposed that on the Massachusetts islands there are about 3000 Indians. All accounts agree that the sea coast and neighbouring islands were thickly inhabited.

Three years before the arrival of the Plymouth colony, a very mortal sickness, supposed to have been the plague or yellow fever, raged with great violence

among the Indians in the eastern parts of New-England. Whole towns were depopulated. The living were not able to bury the dead; and their bones were found lying above ground many years after. The Massachusetts Indians are said to have been reduced from 30,000 to 300 fighting men. In 1633 the small pox swept off great numbers of the Indians in Massachusetts.

In 1763, on the Island of Nantucket, in the space of four months, the Indians were reduced by a mortal sickness from 320 to 85 souls. The hand of Providence is notable in these surprising instances of mortality among the Indians to make room for the whites. Comparatively few have perished by wars; and the descendants of the few that were not driven to the westward by the English, waste and moulder away, and in a manner unaccountably disappear.

The number of Indians in the state of Connecticut, in 1774, was 1363; but their number is doubtless much lessened. The principal part of their population in this state is at Mohegan, in the county of New-London. These are the descendants of the Mohegans, of whom frequent mention is made in the foregoing pages, as being very serviceable (under the command of Uncus) to the English, in their many engagements with the natives. The Mohegans have ever exhibited great reverence for the descendants of their royal sachem. After the death of Uncus, his body, by his request, was conveyed to Norwich, and there interred in the neighbourhood of one of his forts. This spot was selected by him previous to his death, and it was his dying request that the whole family of Uncus should there be buried; a request which has been strictly complied with by the Mohegans, who, although the distance is seven miles from their own burying ground, have and continue to deposit there the descendants of their revered sachem.

The number of Indians in Rhode-Island, in 1783, was only 525. More than half these live in Charles-

town, in the county of Washington. In 1774 their number was 1482 ; so that in nine years the decrease was 957. We have not been able to ascertain the exact state of the Indian population in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. In 1784 there was a tribe of about forty Indians at Norridgwalk, in the province of Maine, with some few other scattering remains of tribes in other parts, and a number of towns thinly inhabited round Cape Cod.

When the English first arrived in America, the Indians had no times or places set apart for religious worship. The first settlers in New-England, were at great pains to introduce among them the habits of civilized life, and to instruct them in the Christian religion. A few years intercourse with the Indians induced them to establish several good and natural regulations.

The Rev. Mr. ELLIOT, of Roxbury, near Boston, who has been styled the great Indian Apostle, with much labour learned the Natic dialect of the Indian languages. He published an Indian grammar, and preached in Indian to several tribes, and in 1664 translated the Bible and several religious books into the Indian language. He relates several pertinent queries of the Indians respecting the Christian religion. Among others, whether JESUS CHRIST, the mediator or interpreter, could understand prayer in the Indian language ? If the father be bad and the child good, why should God in the second commandment be offended with the child ? How the Indians came to differ so much from the English in the knowledge of God and JESUS CHRIST, since they all sprung from one father ? Mr. ELLIOT was indefatigable in his labours, and travelled through all parts of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, as far as Cape Cod. The colony had such a veneration for him, that in an act of the General Assembly relating to Indians, they express themselves thus, "By the advice of the said magistrates and of Mr. ELLIOT."

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of New-England, who once held a plurality of deities, after the arrival of the English supposed there were only three, because they saw people of three kinds of complexions, viz. English, negroes and themselves.

It was a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that it was not the same god who made them who made us; but that they were created after the white people; and it is probable they supposed their god gained some special skill, by seeing the white people made, and so made them better; for it is certain they looked upon themselves, and their methods of living, which they say their god expressly prescribed for them, vastly preferable to the white people and their methods.

With regard to a future state of existence, many of them imagined that the chichung, i. e. the shadow, or what survived the body, would at death go southward, and in an unknown but curious place would enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like. And what they supposed would contribute much to their happiness, was, that they should there never be weary of those entertainments.

The natives of New-England believed not only plurality of gods, who made and governed the several nations of the world, but they made deities of every thing they imagined to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful to mankind; yet they conceived an almighty being, whom they called Kichtau, who at first, according to their tradition, made a man and woman out of stone, but upon some dislike destroyed them again, and then made another couple out of a tree, from whom descended all the nations of the earth; but how they come to be scattered and dispersed into countries so remote from one another they could not tell. They believed their supreme god to be a good being, and paid a sort of acknowledgement to him for plenty, victory, and other benefits.

The immortality of the soul was universally believed among them. When good men died, they said, their souls went to Kichtau, where they met with their friends, and enjoyed all manner of pleasures; when the wicked died, they went to Kichtau also, but were commanded to walk away; and so wander about in restless discontent and darkness forever.

The natives of New-England in general were quick of apprehension, ingenious, and when pleased nothing could exceed their courtesy and friendship. Gravity and eloquence distinguished them in council, address and bravery in war. They were not more easily provoked than the English, but when once they have received an injury, it is never forgotten. In anger, they were not like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful. The men declined all labour and spent their time in hunting, fishing, shooting, and warlike exercises. They imposed all the drudgery upon their women, who gathered and brought home their wood, planted, dressed and gathered their corn. When they travelled the women carried their children, packs and provisions. The women submitted patiently to such treatment. This ungenerous usage of their husbands they repaid with smiles and good humour.

The clothing of the natives was the skins of wild beasts. The men threw a mantle of skins over them, and wore a small flap which was termed Indian breeches. The women were much more modest. They wore a coat of skins girt about their loins, which reached down to their hams, which they never put off in company. If the husband chose to dispose of his wife's beaver petticoat, she could not be persuaded to part with it until he had provided another of some sort. In the winter their blankets of skins, which hang loose in summer, was tied or wrapped more closely about them. The old men in the severe seasons also wore a sort of trowsers made of skins and fastened to their girdles, and on their feet

they wore moccasons, made of moose leather, and their chiefs or sachems wore on their heads a cap decorated with feathers.

Their houses or wigwams were at best but miserable cells; they were constructed generally like arbours, or small young trees bent and twisted together, and so curiously covered with mats or bark that they were tolerably dry and warm. They made their fires in the centre of the house, and there was an opening at the top which emitted the smoke. For the convenience of wood and water, these huts were commonly erected in groves, near some river, brook or living spring. When either failed, the family removed to another place.

They lived in a poor low manner. Their food was coarse and simple, without any kind of seasoning, having neither spice, salt or bread. Their food was principally the entrails of moose, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild beasts and fowls. Of fish and snakes they were extremely fond. They had strong stomachs, and nothing came amiss. They had no set meals, but like other wild creatures ate when they were hungry and could find any thing to satisfy the cravings of nature. They had but little food from the earth except what is spontaneously produced. Indian corn, beans and squashes were the only eatables for which the natives of New-England laboured.

Their household furniture was of but small value. Their beds were composed of mats or skins. They had neither chairs or stools, but commonly sat upon the ground with their elbows upon their knees. A few wooden and stone vessels and instruments served all the purpose of domestic life. Their knife was a sharp stone, shell or kind of reed, which they sharpened in such a manner as to cut their hair, make their bows and arrows, &c. They made their axes of stone, which they shaped somewhat similar to our axes, but with the difference of their being made with a neck instead of an eye, and fastened with a withe like a blacksmith's chissel.

The manner of the courtship and marriage of the natives manifested the impurity of their morals. When a young Indian wished for marriage he presented the girl with whom he was enamoured, with bracelets, belts and chains of wampum. If she received his presents, they cohabited together for a time upon trial. If they pleased each other they joined in marriage; but if, after a few weeks, they were not suited, the man, leaving his presents, quitted the girl and sought another mistress, and she another lover. In this manner they courted until two met who were agreeable to each other.

The natives of New-England although they consisted of a great number of different nations and clans, appear to have spoken the same language. From Piscataqua to Connecticut it was so nearly the same that the different tribes could converse tolerably together. The Mohegan or Pequot language was essentially that of all the Indians in New-England. The word Mohegan, is a corruption of Muhhekanew, in the singular, or of Muhhekanek in the plural number. The Penobscots, bordering on Nova Scotia; the Indians of St. Francis, in Canada; the Delawares, in Pennsylvania; the Shawnese, on the Ohio, and the Chippewas, at the westward of lake Huron, all now speak the same radical language.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES OF INDIANS INHABITING THE WESTERN COUNTRY.

As we are now about to speak of the wars with the savages in the western country, we shall commence with a description of their prevailing customs and habits.

They are the descendants of those who once inhabited the sea-coasts, and who were driven by the English, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, far to the westward; so that but few of their descendants are now to be found within less than two or three hundred miles of the sea; for though many of them have been instructed in the knowledge of Christianity, and districts of land have been allotted them in several of the British colonies, where they have been formed into societies; yet it has been found that in proportion as they lay by their ancient customs and conform to the manners of civilized life, they dwindle away, either because the change is prejudicial to their constitutions, or because when settled among the English they have great opportunities of procuring spiritous liquors, of which both sexes are in general inordinately fond; very little care being ever taken to prevent those who are inclined to take advantage of them in trade from basely intoxicating them for that purpose. This has a powerful effect on their constitutions, and soon proves fatal, producing diseases to which they were formerly strangers. Thus, where a few years ago there were considerable settlements of them, their name is almost forgotten; and those

who still remain have, for the most part, joined themselves to other nations in the interior part of the country on the banks of the lakes and rivers.

The Indians in Canada, and to the south of it, are tall and straight beyond the proportion of most other nations. Their bodies are strong, but, as has been before observed, this is a strength rather suited to endure the exercise of the chase than much hard labour, by which they are soon consumed. They have generally supple limbs, and the smallest degree of deformity is very rarely seen among them. Their features are regular, their complexion somewhat of a copper colour or reddish brown. Their hair, which is long, black and lank, is as strong as that of a horse. They carefully eradicate the hair from every part of the body except the head, and they confine that to a tuft at the top; whence an erroneous idea has much prevailed that the men of this country are naturally destitute of beards; but it is unquestionable that it is only an artificial deprivation.

They generally wear only a blanket wrapped about them, or a shirt, both of which they purchase of the English traders. When the Europeans first came among them they found some nations entirely naked, and others with a coarse cotton cloth, wove by themselves, round their waiste; but in the northern parts their whole bodies were in winter covered with skins.

The Huron Indians possess a very pleasant and fertile country on the eastern side of the lake which bears the same name. Half a century ago they were very numerous, and could raise six or seven hundred warriors, but they have suffered greatly from the attacks of neighbouring tribes. They differ in their manners from any of the Indian tribes with which they are surrounded. They build regular houses, which they cover with bark; and are considered as the most wealthy Indians on the continent, having not only many horses, but some black cattle and swine. They likewise raise much corn, so that after provid-

ing for their own wants, they are enabled to barter the remainder with other tribes. Their country extends 150 miles eastward of the lake, but is narrower in the contrary direction. The soil is not exceeded by any in this part of the world. The timber is tall and beautiful; the woods abound with game, and abundance of fish may be obtained from the rivers and lakes; so that if it was well cultivated, the land would equal that on any part of the sea-coast of North-America. A missionary of the order of Carthusian friars, by permission of the bishop of Canada, resides among them, and is by them amply rewarded for his services.

Those tribes of Indians who inhabit the banks of lakes Champlain, George and Ontario, were formerly called Iroquois, but have since been known by the name of "the five Mohawk nations," and "the Mohawks of Canada." The former are called Onondagoes, Oneides, Senecas, Tuscarovies, and Troondock; these fought on the side of the English in the contest for territory with France. The Cohnawahgans and St. Francis Indians joined the French.

The knowledge which we have of the Indians further to the S.W. as far beyond 42° N. latitude, is chiefly obtained from the very worthy provincial officer, Major Carver, who travelled into those parts in the year 1776, and whose placid manners and artless sincerity could not fail of recommending him to men whom nature alone had instructed. He visited twelve nations of Indians: among which the following appear to be the most considerable: The Chipeway, who dwell to the southward of lake Superior, and the Ottawas: the Winnebagoes to the W. of lake Michigan, who with the Saukies, and Ottiganmies occupy the whole extent of country from the lake to the Mississippi, below 42° N. latitude, where the Ousconsin river discharges itself. The Nadowesse, the most numerous and extended Indian nation, inhabit the country on the W. of the Mississippi, on the borders of Louisiana.

The Indians in general are strangers to the passions of jealousy ; and the most profligate of their young men very rarely attempt the virtue of married women, nor do such often put themselves in the way of solicitation, although the Indian women, in general, are amorous, and before marriage, not less esteemed for gratifying their passions. It appears to have been a very prevalent custom with the Indians of this country, before they became acquainted with the Europeans, to compliment strangers with their wives ; and the custom still prevails, not only among the lower rank, but even among the chiefs themselves, who consider such an offer as the greatest proof of courtesy they can give a stranger.

The men are remarkable for their indolence, on which they even seem to value themselves ; saying that labour would degrade them, and belongs solely to the women, while they are formed only for war, hunting and fishing ; to form their canoes, and build their houses. But they frequently make the women assist them in these, besides attending to all domestic affairs, and cultivating the land. They have a method of lighting up their huts with their torches, made of the splinters cut from the pine or birch tree,

The Indians have generally astonishing patience and equanimity of mind, with the command of every passion except revenge. They bear the most sudden and unexpected misfortune with calmness and composure, without uttering a word, or the least change of countenance. Even a prisoner who knows not whether he may not in a few hours be put to the most cruel death, seems entirely unconcerned, and eats and drinks with as much cheerfulness as those into whose hands they had fallen. Their resolution and courage under sickness and pain is really astonishing. Even when under the shocking torture to which prisoners are frequently exposed, they will not only make themselves cheerful, but provoke and irritate their tormentors by most severe reproaches.

They are graceful in their deportment upon serious occasions, observant of those in company, respectful to the old, of a temper cool and deliberate, by which they are never in haste to speak before they have well thought of the matter, and sure that the person who spoke before them has finished all that he had to say. In their public councils, every man is heard in his turn according to his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country have ranked him. Not a whisper nor a murmur is heard from the rest while he speaks; no indecent commendations, no ill-timed applause. The young attend for their instruction; for here they learn the history of their nation, are animated by those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors; are taught what is the interest of their country, and how to cultivate and pursue it.

Hospitality is exercised among them with the utmost generosity and good will. Their houses, their provisions, and even their young women are presented to a guest. To those of their own nation they are likewise very humane and beneficent. If any of them succeed ill in hunting, if the harvest fails, or his house is burnt, he feels no other effect of his misfortune than its giving him an opportunity of experiencing the benevolence and regard of his countrymen, who for that purpose, have almost every thing in common. But to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended him, the native American is implacable. He never indeed makes use of oaths, or indecent expressions, but cruelly conceals his sentiments, till by treachery or surprise he can gratify his revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place is great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, pierces impervious forests, and traverses the most hideous deserts; bearing the inclemency of the season, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, and exercising upon him the most shocking barbarities. When these cannot

be effected, the revenge is left as a legacy transferred from generation to generation, from father to son, till an opportunity offers of taking what they think ample satisfaction. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship, or their enmity; and such indeed is in general, the character of all uncivilized nations. They, however, esteem nothing so unworthy a man of sense, as a peevish temper, and a proneness to a sudden and rash anger.

On the other hand, they are highly sensible of the utility and pleasures of friendship; for each of them, at a certain age, makes choice of some one nearly of the same standing in life to be their most intimate and bosom friend. These two enter into mutual engagements, by which they oblige themselves to brave any danger and run any risk, to assist and support each other. This attachment is even carried so far as to overcome the fear of death, which they consider as only a temporary separation, being persuaded that they shall meet and be united in friendship in the other world, never to be separated more; and that there they shall need one another's assistance as well as here.

It does not appear that there is any Indian nation that has not some sense of a Deity, and a kind of superstitious religion. Their ideas of the nature and attributes of God are very obscure, and some of them absurd, though they conceive of him as the Great Spirit, but imagine that his more immediate residence is on the Island of the great lakes. They seem to have some idea that there are spirits of a higher order than man; and, supposing them to be every where present, frequently invoke them, and endeavour to act agreeable to their desires. They likewise imagine that there is an evil spirit, who they say is always inclined to mischief, and bears great sway in the creation. This indeed is the principal object of their devotions. They generally address him most heartily, beseeching him to do them no harm. But supposing the others to be propitious, and ever inclined

to do good, they intreat those spirits to bestow blessings upon them and prevent the evil spirit from hurting them. Major Carver relates, that one of the most considerable chiefs among the Ottawas, with whom he remained a night, on attending him to his canoe the next morning, with great solemnity and in an audible voice offered up a fervent prayer, as he entered his canoe, "that the Great Spirit would favour him with a prosperous voyage; that he would give him an unclouded sky and smooth waters by day, and that he might lie down by night on a beaver blanket, enjoying uninterrupted sleep and pleasant dreams; and also that he might find continual security under the great pipe of peace." To procure the protection of the good spirit they imagine it necessary to distinguish themselves, and that they must, above all other attainments, become good warriors, expert hunters and steady marksmen.

Their priests often persuade the people that they have revelations of future events, and are authorised to command them to pursue such and such measures. They also undertake to unfold the mysteries of religion, and to solve and interpret all their dreams. They represent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable, where they shall enjoy the most full and exquisite gratification of all their senses. This is doubtless the motive that induces the Indian to meet death with such indifference and composure; none of them being in the least dismayed at the news that he has but a few hours or minutes to live, but with the greatest intrepidity sees himself upon the brink of being separated from all terrestrial things, and with great serenity talks to all around him. Thus a father leaves his dying advice to his children, and takes a formal leave of all his friends.

They testify great indifference for the productions of art: "It is pretty, I like to look at it," but express no curiosity about its construction. Such, however, is not their behaviour when they are told of a person

who distinguishes himself by agility in running; is well skilled in hunting; can take a most exact aim; work a canoe along a rapid with great dexterity; is skilled in all the arts which their stealthy mode of carrying on a war is capable of; or is acute in discovering the situation of a country, and can, without a guide, pursue his proper course through a vast forest, and support hunger, thirst and fatigue with invincible firmness; at such a relation their attention is aroused. They listen to the interesting tale with delight, and express in the strongest terms their esteem for so great and so wonderful a man.

They generally bury their dead with great decency, and deposit in the grave such articles as the deceased had made the greatest use of, and been most attached to; as his bow and arrows, pipes, tobacco, &c. that he may not be in want of any thing when he comes to the other country. The mothers mourn for their children a long time, and the neighbours make presents to the father, and he in return gives them a feast.

Every band has a leader, who bears the name of Sachem or chief warrior, and is chosen for his tried valour and skill in conducting the war. To him is entrusted all military operations, but his authority does not extend to civil affairs, that pre-eminence being given to another, who possesses it by a kind of hereditary claim, and whose assent is necessary to render valid all conveyances of land, or treaties of whatever kind, to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation. Though these military and civil chiefs are considered the heads of the band, and the latter is usually styled king, yet the American Indians consider themselves as controlled by neither civil or military authority. Every individual regards himself as free and independent, and would never renounce the idea of liberty; therefore injunctions, conveyed in the style of a positive command, would be disregarded and treated with contempt. Nor do their leaders assume an ascendancy repugnant to these

sentiments, but merely advise what is necessary to be done, which is sufficient to produce the most prompt and effectual execution, never producing a murmur.

Their great council is composed of the heads of tribes and families, and of those whose capacity has raised them to the same degree of consideration. They meet in a house built in each of their towns for that purpose, and also to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary songs, or to commemorate the dead. In these councils they propose all such matters as concern the state, and which have been already digested in the secret council, at which none but the head men assist. The chiefs seldom speak much themselves at these general meetings, but entrust their sentiments with a person who is called their speaker or orator, there being one of this profession in every tribe or town; and their manner of speaking is natural and easy, their words strong and expressive, their style bold, figurative and laconic, whatever is told tending either to form the judgment or rouse the passions.

When any business of consequence is transacted they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins with a song on the remarkable events of their history, and whatever may tend to their honour or instruction. The others sing in their turn. They also have dances, chiefly of a martial kind; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without songs and dances.

As the Indians are high spirited and soon irritated, the most trifling provocations frequently rouse them to arms, and prove the occasion of bloodshed and murder. Their petty private quarrels are often decided this way, and expeditions undertaken without the knowledge or consent of the general council. These private expeditions are winked at and excused, as a mean of keeping their young men in action, and inuring them to the exertions of war.

But when war becomes a national affair, it is entered upon with great deliberation. They first call an assembly of sachems or chief warriors, to deliberate upon the affair, and every thing relating to it. In this general congress among the northern Indians and Five Nations, the women have a voice as well as the men. When they are assembled the chief sachem or president proposes the affair they have met to consult upon, and taking up the tomahawk, which lies by him, says, "Who among you will go and fight against such a nation? Who among you will bring captives from thence to replace our deceased friends, that our wrongs may be revenged and our name and honour maintained as long as the rivers flow, the grass grows, or the sun and moon shall endure?" Then one of the principal warriors rising, harrangues the whole assembly, and afterward, addressing himself to the young men, inquires who will go with him, and fight their enemies? When they generally rise, one after another, and fall in behind him, while he walks round the circle till he is joined by a sufficient number.

On such occasions they usually have a deer, or some other beast, roasted whole; and each of them, as they consent to go to war, cuts off a piece and eats, saying, "Thus will I devour our enemies;" mentioning the nation they are going to attack. The ceremony being performed, the dance commences, and they sing their war-song, which has relation to their intended expedition and conquest, or to their own skill, courage and dexterity in fighting, and the manner in which they will vanquish their enemies. Their expressions are strong and pathetic, accompanied with a tone that inspires terror.

Such is the influence of their women in these consultations that the issue depends much upon them. If any one of them, in conjunction with the chiefs, has a mind to excite one who does not immediately depend upon them to take an active part in the war, she presents, by the hand of some trusty young warrior, a string of wampum to the person whose help

she solicits, which seldom fails of producing the effect. But when they solicit an offensive or defensive alliance with a whole nation, they send an embassy with a large belt of wampum and a bloody hatchet, inviting them to come and drink the blood of their enemies.

The wampum used on these and other occasions, before their acquaintance with Europeans, was only small shells, which they picked up by the sea-coasts and on the banks of the lakes. It now consists principally of a kind of cylindrical beads, made of white and black shells, which are esteemed among them as silver and gold are among us. The black they think the most valuable. Both of them are their greatest riches and ornaments, answering all the ends of money among us. They have the art of stringing, twisting and interweaving them into their belts, collars, blankets, &c. in ten thousand different sizes, forms, and figures, so as not only to be ornaments for every part of dress, but expressive of all their important transactions. They dye the wampum of various colours and shades; and so they are made significant of almost every thing they please. By these their records are kept and their thoughts communicated to one another, as ours are by writing. Thus the belts that pass from one nation to another, in all important transactions, are carefully preserved in the cabin of their chiefs, and serve both as a kind of record or history, and as a public treasure. Hence they are never used on trifling occasions.

The calmut, or pipe of peace, is of no less importance, nor is it less revered among them. The bowl of this pipe is made of a kind of soft red stone, easily wrought, and hollowed out; the stem is of cane, or a kind of light wood, painted with different colours, and adorned with the heads, tails and feathers of the most beautiful birds, &c. The use of the calmut is to smoke either tobacco, or some other herb used instead of it, when they enter into an alliance or any solemn engagement; this being esteemed the most

sacred oath that can be taken, the violation of which is thought to be most infamous, and deserving severe punishment in the other life. When they treat of war, the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; sometimes it is red only on one side, and by the disposition of the feathers, &c. a person acquainted with their customs knows at first sight the intentions or desires of the nation which presents it. Smoking the calmut is also upon some occasions, and in all treaties, considered as a sacred oath, as a seal of their decrees, and a pledge of their performance of them. The size and decorations of their calmuts are commonly proportioned to the importance of the occasion, to the quality of the persons to whom they are presented, and to the esteem and regard they have for them.

Another instrument of great importance among them is the tomahawk. This is an ancient weapon used by them in war, before they were taught the use of iron or steel; since which hatchets have been substituted in the room of them; but it retains its use and importance in public transactions, and, like the pipe, is very significant. This instrument is formed in some respects like a hatchet, having a long handle; the head, which is a round knob of solid wood, calculated to knock a man down, has on the other side a point bending a little toward the handle, and near the centre where the handle pierces the head another point projects forward, of a considerable length, which serves to thrust with like a spear. The tomahawk is also ornamented with painting and feathers, disposed and variegated in many significant forms, according to the occasion and end for which they are used; and on it are kept a kind of journal of their marches and most important occurrences in a kind of hieroglyphics. When the council is called to deliberate on war the tomahawk is coloured red; and when the council sits, it is laid down by the chief, and if war be concluded upon, the captain of the young warriors takes it up, and, holding it in his hand, dances and sings

the war-song. When the council is over, this, or some other of the same kind, is sent by the hands of the same warrior to every tribe concerned; who with it presents a belt of wampum and delivers his message, throwing a tomahawk on the ground, which is taken up by one of the most expert warriors, if they chose to join; if not, it is returned with a belt of their wampum suited to the occasion.

Each nation or tribe has its distinct ensigns, generally consisting of some beast, bird or fish. Thus the Five Nations have the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise and eagle; by these names the tribes are generally distinguished, and the shapes of these animals are pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies. Generally, when they march through the woods, they, at every encampment, cut the figure of their arms on the trees, especially when they have had a successful campaign, that travellers may know that they have been there; recording also in their way the number of prisoners and scalps they have taken.

Their military appearance is very odd and terrible. They cut off all their hair, except a spot on the crown of their head, and pluck out their eye-brows. The lock left upon the head is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened, and intermixed with beads and feathers of various shapes and colours, the whole twisted and connected together. They paint themselves with a red pigment down to the eye-brows, which they sprinkle over with white down. The gristle of their ears are slit almost quite round, and hung with ornaments that have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored and hung with beads, and their faces painted with various colours. On their breasts are a gorget or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and by a string which goes round their necks is suspended that horrid weapon called the scalping knife.

Thus equipped, they march forth, singing their war-song, till they lose sight of their village; and are generally followed by their women, who assist them in carrying their baggage, whether by land or water, but commonly return before they proceed to action.

They have generally one commander for ten men; and if the number amounts to one hundred, a general is appointed over the others, not properly to command, but to give his opinion. They have no stated rules of discipline, or fixed methods of carrying on a war. but make their attacks in as many different ways as there are occasions, but generally in flying parties, equipped for that purpose.

The weapons used by those who trade with the English and French are commonly a firelock, a hatchet and a scalping knife; but the others use bows, tomahawks and pikes. As the commander in chief governs only by advice, and can neither reward nor punish, every private may return home when he pleases without assigning any reason for it; or any number may leave the main body and carry on a private expedition, in whatever manner they please, without being called to an account for their conduct.

When the Indians return from a successful campaign, they contrive their march so as not to approach their village till toward the evening. They then send two or three forward to acquaint their chief and the whole village with the most material circumstances of the campaign. At day-light next morning they give their prisoners new clothes, paint their faces with various colours, and put into their hands a white staff, tasselled round with the tails of deer. This being done, the war captain sets up a cry, and gives as many yells as he has taken prisoners and scalps, and the whole village assemble at the water side. As soon as the warriors appear, four or five of their young men, well clothed, get into a canoe, if they come by water, or otherwise march by land; the two first carrying each a calmut, go out singing to search the prisoners, whom they lead

in triumph to the cabin where they are to receive their doom. The owner of this cabin has the power of determining their fate, though it is often left to some woman who has lost her husband, brother, or son, in the war; and when this is the case, she generally adopts him in the place of the deceased. The prisoner has victuals immediately given him, and while he is at his repast, a consultation is held; and if it be resolved to save his life, two young men untie him, and taking him by the hands, lead him to the cabin of the person into whose family he is to be adopted, and there he is received with all imaginable marks of kindness. He is treated as a friend, as a brother, or as a husband, and they soon love him with the same tenderness as if he stood in the place of one of their friends. In short, he has no other marks of captivity, but his not being suffered to return to his own nation; for his attempting this, would be punished with certain death. But if the sentence be death, how different their conduct! These people, who behave with such disinterested affection to each other; with such tenderness to those whom they adopt; here show that they are truly savages. The dreadful sentence is no sooner passed, than the whole village set up the death-cry; and, as if there was no medium between the most generous friendship and the most inhuman cruelty; for the execution of him whom they had just before deliberated upon admitting into their tribe, is no longer deferred than whilst they can make the necessary preparations for rioting in the most diabolical cruelty. They first strip him, and fixing two posts in the ground, fasten to them two pieces from one to the other; one about two feet from the ground, the other about five or six feet higher; then obliging the unhappy victim to mount upon the lower cross-piece, they tie his legs to it a little asunder. His hands are extended and tied to the angles formed by the upper piece. In this posture, they burn him all over the body, sometimes first daubing him with pitch. The whole village, men, women, and children, assem-

ble round him, every one torturing him in what manner they please ; each striving to exceed the other in cruelty, as long as he has life. But if none of the bystanders are inclined to lengthen out his torments, he is either shot to death, or enclosed with dry bark, to which they set fire ; they then leave him on the frame, and in the evening run from cabin to cabin, superstitiously striking with small twigs, the furniture, walls, and roofs, to prevent his spirit from remaining there to take vengeance for the evils committed on his body. The remainder of the day and night following, is spent in rejoicing.

This is the most usual method of murdering their prisoners. But sometimes they fasten them to a single stake, and build a fire around them. At other times, they cruelly mangle their limbs, cut off their fingers and toes, joint by joint ; and sometimes, scald them to death.

What is most extraordinary, if the sufferer be an Indian, there seems, during the whole time of his execution, a contest between him and his tormentors, which shall outdo the other, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them. Not a groan, nor a sigh, nor a distortion of countenance, escapes him in the midst of his torments. It is even said, that he recounts his own exploits, informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens with the revenge that will attend his death. That he even reproaches them for their ignorance of the art of tormenting ; points out methods of more exquisite torture, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted.

The scalps, those dreadful proofs of the barbarity of these Indians, are valued, and hung up in their houses as the trophies of their bravery ; and they have certain days when the young men gain a new name or title of honour, according to the qualities of the persons to whom these scalps belonged. This name they think a sufficient reward for the dangers and fatigues of many campaigns, as it renders them

respected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies.

In the late American revolution, Britain had the inhumanity to reward these sons of barbarity for depredations committed upon those who were struggling in the cause of liberty. It was through their instigation that the hatchets of the Indians were made drunk with American blood! The widow's wail, the virgin's shriek, and infant's trembling cry, was music in their ears. In cold blood they sunk their cruel tomahawks into the defenceless head of a Miss M'Kray, a beautiful girl, who was that very day to have been married. The particulars of the inhuman transaction follow: Previous to the late war between America and Great Britain, a British officer by the name of Jones, an accomplished young man, resided near Fort Edward. His visits thither became more frequent, when he found himself irresistibly drawn by charms of native worth and beauty. Miss M'Kray, whose memory is dear to humanity and true affection, was the object of his peregrinations. Mr. Jones had not taken the precaution necessary in hazardous love, but had manifested to the lady by his constant attention, undissembled and ingenuous demeanour, that ardent affection which a susceptible heart compelled her implicitly to return. In this mutual interchange of passions, they suffered themselves to be transported on the ocean of imagination, till the unwelcome necessity of a separation cut off every springing hope. The war between Great Britain and America commenced. A removal from this happy spot was in consequence suggested to Mr. Jones, as indispensable. Nothing could alleviate their mutual horror, but duty; nothing could allay their reciprocal grief, so as to render a separate corporeal existence tolerable, but solemn vows, with the ideas of a future meeting. Mr. Jones repaired to Canada, where all intercourse with the provincials was prohibited. Despair, which presented itself in aggravated colours, when General Burgoyne's expedition through the

States was fixed, succeeded to his former hopes. The British army being encamped about three miles from the fort, a descent was daily projected. Here Mr. Jones could not but recognize the spot on which rested all his joys. He figured to his mind the dread which his hostile approach must raise in the breast of her, whom of all others, he thought it his highest interest to protect. In spite of arrests and commands to the contrary, he found means secretly to convey a letter, entreating her not to leave the town with the family, assuring her that as soon as the fort should surrender, he would convey her to an asylum where they might peaceably consummate the nuptial ceremony. Far from discrediting the sincerity of him who could not deceive her, she heroically refused to follow the flying villagers. The remonstrances of a father, or the tearful entreaties of a mother and numerous friends, could not avail! It was enough that her lover was her friend. She considered herself protected by the love and voluntary assurances of her youthful hero. With the society of a servant maid she impatiently waited the desired conveyance. Mr. Jones, finding the difficulty into which he was brought, at length, for want of better convoy, hired a party of twelve Indians to carry a letter to Miss M'Kray, with his own horse, for the purpose of carrying her to the place appointed. They set off, fired with the anticipation of their promised premium, which was to consist of a quantity of spirits, on condition that they brought her off in safety, which to an Indian was the most cogent stimulus the young lover could have named. Having arrived in view of her window, they sagaciously held up the letter, to prevent the fears and apprehensions which a savage knows he must excite in the sight of tenderness and sensibility. Her faith and expectations enabled her to divine the business of these ferocious missionaries, while her frightened maid uttered nought but shrieks and cries. They arrived, and by their signs, convinced her from whom they had their in-

structions. If a doubt could remain, it was removed by the letter; it was from her lover. A lock of his hair, which it contained, presented his manly figure to her gloomy fancy.

Here, reader, guess what must have been her ecstasy. She indeed resolved to brave even the most horrid aspect which might appear between her and him, whom she considered already hers, without a sigh. She did not for a moment hesitate to follow the wishes of her lover; and took her journey with these bloody messengers, expecting very soon to be shielded in the arms of legitimate affection. A short distance only then seemed to separate two of the happiest of mortals. Alas! how soon are the most brilliant pictures of felicity defaced by the burning hand of affliction and wo! How swiftly are the halcyon dreams which lull the supine indolence of thought, succeeded by the real pangs which are inflicted by a punishing Providence, or a persecuting foe!

Having risen the hill, at about equal distance from the camp and her former home, a second party of Indians, having heard of the captivating offer made by Mr. Jones, determined to avail themselves of the opportunity. The reward was the great object. A clashing of real and assumed rights was soon followed by a furious and bloody engagement, in which several were killed on each side. The commander of the first party, perceiving that nought but the lady's death could appease the fury of either, with a tomahawk deliberately knocked her from her horse, mangled her scalp from her beautiful temples, which he exultingly bore as a trophy of zeal to the expectant and anxious lover! Here, O disappointment, was thy sting! It was with the utmost difficulty that Mr. Jones could be kept from total delirium. His horror and indignation could not be appeased; his remorse for having risked his most valuable treasure in the hands of savages, drove him almost to madness. When the particulars of this melancholy event reach-

ed Gen. Burgoyne, he ordered the survivors of both these parties to immediate execution.

Many persons suppose that the idea that the American Indians are descended from the ancient Jews, is a novel one. This is not the fact. Many writers have suggested this opinion. Among others, James Adair, Esq., who had resided among the North American Indians forty years, and paid particular attention to their language, laws, customs, manners, dress, ceremonies, &c., and whose account of them was published in London in 1775, seems to have been fully convinced of the fact himself; and if his arguments do not convince others, they will at least stagger their incredulity. The following extract from the contents of his work will show the course he takes to establish his opinion:

“Observations and Arguments in proof of the American Indians being descended from the Jews.

1. Their division into tribes.
2. Their worship of Jehovah.
3. Their notion of a theocracy.
4. Their belief in the ministration of angels.
5. Their language and dialects.
6. Their manner of counting time.
7. Their prophets and high priests.
8. Their festivals, fasts, and religious rites.
9. Their daily sacrifice.
10. Their ablutions and anointings.
11. Their laws of uncleanness.
12. Their abstinence from unclean things.
13. Their marriages, divorces, and punishment of adultery.
14. Their several punishments.
15. Their cities of refuge.
16. Their purifications and ceremonies preparatory to war.
17. Their ornaments.
18. Their manner of curing the sick.
19. Their burial of the dead.
20. Their mourning for their dead.

21. Their raising seed to a departed brother.

22. Their choice of name adapted to their circumstances and the times.

23. Their own traditions, the accounts of our English writers, and the testimonies which the Spanish and other authors have given concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico."

Under each of these heads the author gives us such facts as a forty years residence among them, at a time when their manners, customs, &c. had not been greatly corrupted or changed by intercourse with Europeans, had enabled him to collect; and he assures us they are "neither disfigured by fable nor prejudice." The rest of his work is taken up with accounts of the different nations among whom he had been, with occasional reflections on their laws, &c.

The following list of names of the various Indian nations in North America, in 1794, with the number of their fighting men, was obtained by a gentleman, Mr. Benjamin Hawkins, employed in a treaty then made with them.

The Choctaws or Flat Heads, 4500; Natches, 150; Chickasaws, 750; Cherokees, 2500; Catabas, 150; Piantas, a wandering tribe, 800; Kisquororas, 600; Hankashaws, 250; Oughtenons, 400; Kikapous, 500; Delawares, 300; Shawanese, 300; Miamies, 300; Upper Creeks, Middle Creeks and Lower Creeks, 4000; Cowitas, 700; Alabamas, 600; Akinsaws, 200; Ansaus, 1000; Padomas, 600; white and freckled Pianis, 4000; Causes, 1600; Osages, 600; Grand Saux, 1000; Missouri, 3000; Saux of the wood, 1500; Blances, or white Indians with beard, 1500; Asinboils, 1500; Christian Cauzes, 3000; Ouiscousas, 500; Mascotins, 500; Lakes, 400; Muherouakes, 230; Folle Avoines or Wildoats, 350; Puans, 700; Powatamig, 550; Missasagues, wandering tribe, 2000; Otabas, 900; Chipewas, 5000; Wiandots, 300; Six Nations, 1500; Round Heads, 2500; Algoquins, 3000; Nepisians, 400; Chalsas, 130; Amitestes, 550; Muckniacks, 700; Abinaguis, 350; Consway Hurins, 200. Total, 58,780.

CHAP. VII.

WASHINGTON'S EXPEDITION,

AND

DEFEAT OF GEN. BRADDOCK BY THE INDIANS.

In 1753 the French and Indians began to make inroads on our western frontiers along the Ohio. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, was very desirous to get a letter of remonstrance to their commander in chief. He had applied to several young gentlemen of his acquaintance, but they were all so deficient in courage that they could not be prevailed on, for love or money, to venture out among the savages. Our beloved WASHINGTON happening to hear of it, instantly waited on his excellency, and offered his services, but not without being terribly afraid lest his want of a beard should go against him. However, the governor was so charmed with his modesty and manly air, that he never asked him a syllable about his age, but after thanking him for his offer, calling him "a noble youth" and insisting on his taking a glass of wine with him, slipped a commission into his hand. The next day he set out on his expedition, which was, from start to pole, as disagreeable and dangerous as any thing Hercules himself could have wished. Soaking rains, chilling blasts, roaring floods, pathless woods, and mountains clad in snows, opposed his course, but opposed in vain. The glorious ambition to serve his country imparted an animation to his nerves, which rendered him superior to all difficulties.

Returning homeward, he was way-laid and shot at by a French Indian, and though the copper-coloured ruffian was not 15 steps distant when he fired at him, yet not even so much as the smell of lead passed on the clothes of our young hero. On his return to Virginia, it was found that he had executed his negotiations, both with the French and Indians, with such

fidelity and judgment, that he received the heartiest thanks of the governor and council for the very important services he had done his country.

He was now (in the 20th year of his age) appointed major and adjutant general of the Virginia forces. Soon after this, the Indians continuing their encroachments, orders were given by the English government, for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy. Virginia took the lead, and raised a regiment of four hundred men, at the head of which she placed her darling WASHINGTON.

With this handful of brave fellows, Col. WASHINGTON, not yet 23 years of age, boldly pushed out into the Indian country, and there for a considerable time, Hannibal like, maintained the war against three times the number of French and Indians. At the Red-Stones he came up with a strong part of the enemy, whom he engaged and effectually defeated, after having killed and taken 31 men. From his prisoners he obtained undoubted intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of a thousand regulars and many hundreds of Indians. But, notwithstanding this disheartening advice, he still pressed on undauntedly against the enemy, and at a place called the Little Meadows, built a fort which he called Fort Necessity. Here he waited, hourly and anxiously looking for succours from New-York and Pennsylvania; but he looked in vain. Nobody came to his assistance. Not long after this, his small force, now reduced to three hundred men, were attacked by an army of 1100 French and Indians. Never did the true Virginian valour shine more gloriously than on this trying occasion.

To see three hundred young fellows, commanded by a smooth faced boy, all unaccustomed to the terrors of war, far from home, and from all hopes of help, shut up in a dreary wilderness, and surrounded by four times their number of savage foes; and yet, without sign of fear, without thought of surrender, preparing for mortal combat. Oh! it was a noble sight!

Scarcely since the days of Leonidas and his three hundred deathless Spartans, had the sun beheld its equal. With hideous whoops and yells the enemy came on like a host of tigers. The woods and rocks, and tall tree tops (as the Indians climbing to the tops of the trees, poured down their bullets into the fort) were in one continued blaze and crash of fire arms. Nor were our young warriors idle but animated by their gallant chief, plied their rifles with such spirit that their little fort resembled a volcano in full blast, roaring and discharging thick sheets of liquid fire and of leaden deaths among their foes. For three glorious hours, salamander like, enveloped in smoke and flame, they sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force, and laid two hundred of them dead on the spot! Discouraged by such desperate resistance, the French general, the Count de Villiers, sent in a flag to WASHINGTON, extolling his gallantry to the skies, and offering him the most honourable terms. It was stipulated that Col. WASHINGTON and his little band of heroes, should march away with all the honours of war, and carry with them their military stores and baggage.

In the spring of 1755 WASHINGTON, while busied in the highest military operations, was summoned to attend Gen. Braddock, who in the month of February, had arrived at Alexandria with 2000 British troops. The assembly of Virginia appointed 800 provincials to join him. The object of this army was to march through the country, by the way of Will's Creek, to fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh, or fort Pitt.) As no person was so well acquainted with the frontier country as WASHINGTON, and none stood so high in military fame, it was thought he would be infinitely serviceable to Gen. Braddock. At the request of the governor and council he cheerfully quitted his own command, to act as volunteer aid-de-camp to that very imprudent and unfortunate general. The army, near 3000 strong, marched from Alexandria and proceeded unmolested within a few miles of fort Pitt. On the morning of the 9th of July, when they had arrived within seven miles of fort Duquesne, the pro-

vincial scouts discovered a large party of French and Indians lying in ambush. WASHINGTON, with his usual modesty observed to Gen. Braddock what sort of enemy he had now to deal with. An enemy who would not, like the Europeans, come forward to a fair contest in the field, but, concealed behind rocks and trees, carry on a deadly warfare with their rifles. He concluded with begging that Gen. Braddock would grant him the honour to let him place himself at the head of the Virginia riflemen, and fight them in their own way. And it was generally thought that our young hero and his 800 hearts of hickory, would very easily have beaten them too, for they were not superior to the force, which with only 300, he had handled so roughly a twelve month before. But Gen. Braddock, who had all along treated the American officers and soldiers with infinite contempt, instead of following this truly salutary advice, swelled and reddened with most unmanly rage. "High times, by G—d!" he exclaimed, strutting to and fro, with arms akimbo, "High times! when a young buckskin can teach a British General how to fight!" WASHINGTON withdrew, biting his lips with grief and indignation, to think what numbers of brave fellows would draw short breath that day, through the pride and obstinacy of one epauletted fool. The troops were ordered to form and advance in columns through the woods!! In a little time the ruin which Washington had predicted ensued. This poor devoted army, pushed on by their mad-cap general, fell into the fatal snare which was laid for them. All at once a thousand rifles began the work of death. The ground was instantly covered with the dying and the dead. The British troops, thus slaughtered by hundreds, and by an enemy whom they could not see, were thrown irrecoverably into panic and confusion, and in a few minutes their haughty general, with 1200 of his brave but unfortunate countrymen, bit the ground. Poor Braddock closed the tragedy with great decency. He was mortally wounded in the beginning of the action, and Washington had

him placed in a cart ready for retreat. Close on the left, where the weight of the French and Indian fire principally fell, Washington and his Virginia riflemen dressed in blue, sustained the shock. At every discharge of their rifles the wounded general cried out, "O my brave Virginia blues! Would to God I could live to reward you for such gallantry." But he died. Washington buried him in the road, and to save him from discovery and the scalping knife, ordered the wagons on their retreat to drive over his grave! O God! what is man? Even a thing of nought!!

Amidst all this fearful consternation and carnage, amidst all the uproar and horrors of a rout, rendered still more dreadful by the groans of the dying, the screams of the wounded, the piercing shrieks of the women, and the yells of the furious assaulting savages, Washington, calm and self-collected rallied his faithful riflemen, led them on to the charge, killed numbers of the enemy who were rushing on with tomahawks, checked their pursuit and brought off the shattered remains of the British army.

With respect to our beloved Washington, we cannot but mention here two extraordinary speeches that were uttered about him at this time, and which, as things have turned out, look a great deal like prophecies. A famous Indian warrior who assisted in the defeat of Braddock, was often heard to swear, that "Washington was not born to be killed by a bullet, for," continued he, "I had 17 fair fires at him with my rifle, and after all I could not bring him to the ground." And, indeed, whoever considers that a good rifle levelled by a proper marksman, hardly ever misses its aim, will readily enough conclude with this unlettered savage, that some invisible hand must have turned aside his bullets.

The Rev. Mr. Davis, in a sermon occasioned by Gen. Braddock's defeat, has these remarkable words; "I beg leave to point the attention of the public to that heroic youth, Col. GEORGE WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved for some great service to his country."

CHAPTER VIII.

ADVENTURES OF CAPT. DANIEL BOON, COMPRISING
AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS WITH THE INDIANS
ON THE OHIO, FROM 1769 TO 1782.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

“It was on the first of May, 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river in North Carolina to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Monay and William Cool.

“On the 7th June, after travelling in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red river, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and from the top of an eminence saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky. For some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We now encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest. The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle on their settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or crossing the herbage on these extensive plains. We saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with great success until December.

“On the 22d December John Stuart and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the

close of it. We passed through a great forest, in which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossom, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were favoured with numberless animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a cane brake and made us prisoners. The Indians plundered us and kept us in confinement seven days. During this time we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious; but in the dead of night, as we lay by a large fire in a thick cane break, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion. We seized this favourable opportunity and departed, directing our course toward the old camp, but found it plundered and our company destroyed or dispersed.

"About this time as my brother with another adventurer who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, they accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, and our dangerous situation, surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness gave us the most sensible satisfaction.

"Soon after this my companion in captivity, John Stuart, was killed by the savages, and the man who came with my brother, while on a private excursion, was soon after attacked and killed by the wolves. We were now in a dangerous and helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and deaths, among savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Although many hundred miles from our families, in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and pre-

pared a little cottage to defend us from the winter. On the 1st of May, 1770, my brother returned home, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt or sugar, or even a horse or a dog. I passed a few days uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have disposed me to melancholy if I had further indulged the thought.

“One day I undertook a tour through the country, when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of the day the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking around with astonishing delight beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the line of a buck which I had killed a few hours before. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. At a distance I frequently heard the hideous yells of savages. My excursion had fatigued my body and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleasing as the first. After which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes to avoid the savages, who I believe frequently visited my camp, but fortunately for me in my absence. No populous city, with all its varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind as the beauties of nature I found in this country.

“Until the 27th July I spent my time in an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Soon after we left the place and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers.

“In March, 1771, I returned home to my family, being determined to bring them as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucky, which I esteemed a second paradise.

“On my return I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us, and on the 25th of September, 1773, we took leave of our friends and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five more families, and forty men that joined us in Powel’s Valley, which is 150 miles from the new settled parts of Kentucky. But this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity.

“On the 10th of October the rear of our company was attacked by a party of Indians; who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my oldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle and brought us into extreme difficulty. We returned forty miles to the settlement on Clench river. We had passed over two mountains, Powel and Walden’s, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, in passing from the old settlement in Virginia to Kentucky; are ranged in a south-west and north-east direction; are of great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over them nature hath formed passes less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs are so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without horror.

"Until the 6th June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clench, when I and another person were solicited by Gov. Dunmore, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of 800 miles, and took us sixty-two days.

"On my return, Gov. Dunmore gave me the command of three garrisons during the campaign against the Shawanese. In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen of North-Carolina, I attended their treaty at Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south side of Kentucky river. After this, I undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlements through the wilderness to Kentucky.

"Having collected a number of enterprising men well armed, I soon began this work. We proceeded until we came within 15 miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two and wounded two more of our party. This was on the 22d March, 1775. Two days after we were again attacked by them, when we had two more killed and three wounded. After this we proceeded on to Kentucky river without opposition.

"On the 1st April we began to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a salt lick, sixty yards from the river on the south side. On the 4th the Indians killed one of our men. On the 14th June, having completed the fort, I returned to my family on the Clench, and whom I soon after removed to the fort. My wife and daughter were supposed to be the first white women that ever stood upon the banks of Kentucky river.

"On the 24th December the Indians killed one of our men and wounded another; and on the 15th July 1776, they took my daughter prisoner. I immediately pursued them with eight men, and on the 16th overtook and engaged them. I killed two of them and recovered my daughter.

“The Indians, having divided themselves into several parties, attacked in one day all our infant settlements and forts, doing a great deal of damage. The husbandmen were ambushed and unexpectedly attacked while toiling in the field. They continued this kind of warfare until the 15th April, 1777, when nearly 100 of them attacked the village of Boonsborough, and killed a number of its inhabitants. On the 19th Colonel Logan’s fort was attacked by 200 Indians. There were only 13 men in the fort, of whom the enemy killed two and wounded one.

“On the 20th August Col. Bowman arrived with 100 men from Virginia, with which additional force we had almost daily skirmishes with the Indians, who began now to learn the superiority of the “long knife,” as they termed the Virginians; being outgeneraled in almost every action. Our affairs began now to wear a better aspect, the Indians no longer daring to face us in the open field, but sought private opportunities to destroy us.

“On the 7th February, 1778, while on a hunting excursion alone, I met a party of 102 Indians and two Frenchmen, marching to attack Boonsborough. They pursued and took me prisoner, and conveyed me to Old Chilicothe, the principal Indian town on little Miami, where we arrived on the 18th February, after an uncomfortable journey. On the 10th March I was conducted to Detroit, and while there was treated with great humanity by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that port, and intendant for Indian affairs.

“The Indians had such an affection for me that they refused 100*l.* sterling offered them by the Governor, if they would consent to leave me with him, that he might be enabled to liberate me on my parole. Several English gentlemen then at Detroit, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding that I never expected it

would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity.

“On the 10th April the Indians returned with me to Old Chilicothe, where we arrived on the 25th. This was a long and fatiguing march, although through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for springs and streams of water. At Chilicothe I spent my time as comfortable as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and contented as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting, for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe in their countenances and gestures the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me, and when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was in common with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

“I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided giving suspicion. I continued at Chilicothe until the first day of June, when I was taken to the salt springs on Scioto, and there employed ten days in the manufacturing of salt. During this time I hunted with my Indian masters, and found the land for a great extent about this river to exceed the soil of Kentucky.

“On my return to Chilicothe 150 of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boons-

borough. They were painted and armed in a frightful manner. This alarmed me and I determined to escape.

“On the 16th June, before sun-rise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th, a journey of 160 miles, during which I had only one meal. I found our fortress in a bad state, but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow prisoners escaped after me, and brought advice that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off their expedition for three weeks.

“About the first of August I set out with 19 men to surprise Point Creek-Town on Sciatha, within four miles of which we fell in with 40 Indians going against Boonsborough. We attacked them, and they soon gave way without any loss on our part.

The enemy had one killed and two wounded. We took three horses and all their baggage. The Indians having evacuated their town, and gone altogether against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the 6th, and on the 7th arrived safe at Boonsborough.

“On the 8th the Indian army, consisting of 444 men, under the command of Capt. Duquesne, and eleven other Frenchmen and their own chiefs, arrived and summoned the fort to surrender. I requested two days consideration, which was granted. During this we brought in through the posterns all the horses and other cattle we could collect.

“On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander that we were determined to defend the fort while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and signed; when the Indians told us it was their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white

man in the treaty, as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners, but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safe, except one man who was wounded by a heavy fire from the enemy.

“The savages now began to undermine the fort, beginning at the water mark of Kentucky river, which is sixty yards from the fort; this we discovered by the water being made muddy by the clay. We countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterraneous passage. The enemy discovering this by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted. On the 20th August they raised the siege, during which we had two men killed and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. The loss of the enemy was 37 killed, and a much larger number wounded. We picked up 125 pounds of their bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort.

“In July, 1779, during my absence, Col. Bowman, with 160 men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chilicothe. He arrived undiscovered. A battle ensued which lasted until ten in the morning, when Col. Bowman retreated 30 miles. The Indians collected all their strength and pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to Col. Bowman's advantage. Col. Harrod proposed to mount a number of horses and break the enemy's line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two engagements we had nine men killed and one wounded. Enemy's loss uncertain. Only two scalps were taken.

“June 23d, 1780, 500 Indians and Canadians under Col. Bird attacked Riddle and Martin's station, and the forks of Licking river with six pieces of artillery. They took all the inhabitants captives, and killed one man and two women, loading the others with the heavy baggage, and such as failed in the journey were tomahawked.

The hostile disposition of the savages caused General Clark, the commandant at the falls of Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country against Peccaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the great Miami, which he attacked with great success, took seventy scalps, and reduced the town to ashes, with the loss of 17 men.

“About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family; for during my captivity, my wife thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods on horses through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father’s house in North Carolina.

“On the 6th October, 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks, and on our return he was shot by a party of Indians, who followed me by the scent of a dog, which I shot and escaped. The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucky, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on buffaloe’s flesh.

“In the spring of 1782 the Indians harrassed us. In May they ravished, killed and scalped a woman and her two daughters near Ashton’s station, and took a negro prisoner. Capt. Ashton pursued them with 25 men, and in an engagement which lasted two hours, his party were obliged to retreat, having eight killed and four mortally wounded. Their brave commander fell in the action.

“August 18th, two boys were carried off from Major Hoy’s station. Capt. Holder pursued the enemy with 17 men, who were also defeated, with the loss of seven killed and two wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country and destroyed the whites as opportunity presented. In a field near Lexington an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon the

ground. All the Indian nations were now united against us.

"August 15th, 500 Indians and Canadians came against Briat's station, five miles from Lexington. They assaulted the fort and killed all the cattle round it; but being repulsed, they retired the third day, having about 80 killed; their wounded uncertain. The garrison had four killed and nine wounded.

"August 18th, Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland and myself, speedily collected 176 men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks, to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about 43 miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th. The savages observing us, gave way, and we ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage in situation, they formed their line of battle from one end of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The engagement was close and warm for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 67 men, 7 of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland, and my second son were among the dead. We were afterwards informed that the Indians on numbering their dead finding that they had four more killed than we, four of our people they had taken were given up to their young warriors, to be put to death after their barbarous manner.

"On our retreat we were met by Col. Logan, who was hastening to join us with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we wanted on the day of battle. The enemy said one more fire from us would have made them give way.

"I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, without great sorrow. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though

with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot; and being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled: some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrid condition that no one could be distinguished from another.

“When Gen. Clark, at the falls of Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the savages. We overtook them within two miles of their town, and we should have obtained a great victory had not some of them met us when about 200 poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes Old Chilicothe, Peccaway, New Chilicothe, and Wills Town; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits; and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners and fifteen scalps, and lost only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves. This campaign damped the enemy, yet they made secret incursions.

“In October a party attacked Crab Orchard, and one of them being a good way before the other, boldly entered a house in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who, happily proved too strong for him, and threw him on

the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe, whilst her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother putting an old rusty gun barrel through the crevices the savages immediately went off.

“From that time till the happy return of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Soon after this the Indians desired peace.

“Two darling sons and a brother I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me 40 valuable horses and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer’s sun, and pinched by the winter’s cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness.

“DANIEL BOON.

“Fayette County, Kentucky.”

CHAPTER IX.

EXPEDITION OF GEN. HARMER AND HIS DEFEAT BY THE INDIANS.

ALTHOUGH a peace was at length happily effected between the two contending parties, Great Britain and America, in 1785, yet the savages who had been persuaded to take a part with the former, were unwilling to bury the bloody hatchet. They had not sufficiently bathed that destructive weapon in the blood of Americans. Without any pretext whatever, they continued to exercise toward them the most wanton acts of barbarity. It appeared from respectable evidence, that from the year 1783, until the month of October 1790, the time the United States commenced offensive operations against the said Indians, that on the Ohio, and the frontiers on the south side thereof, they killed, wounded and took prisoners 1500 men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of 2000 horses, and other property to the amount of \$50,000.

The particulars of many of the instances of barbarity exercised upon the prisoners, of different ages and sexes, although supported by indisputable evidence, are of too shocking a nature to be presented to the public. It is sufficient here to observe that the scalping knife and tomahawk were the mildest instruments of death. That in some cases torture by fire, and other execrable means were used.

But the outrages which were committed upon the frontier inhabitants were not the only injuries that were sustained. Repeated attacks upon detachments of the troops of the United States were at different times made. The following from its peculiar enormity deserves recital. In April, 1790, Major Dougherty, in service of the United States, was ordered to the friendly Chicasaws on public business. He perform-

ed this duty in a boat, having with him a party of fifteen men. While ascending the Tennessee river he was met by a party of Indians, in four canoes, consisting principally of Shawanese and out-cast Cherokees. They approached under a white flag, the well known emblem of peace. They came on board the Major's boat, received his presents, continued with him nearly an hour, and then departed in the most friendly manner. But they had scarcely cleared his oars, before they poured in a fire upon his crew, which was returned as soon as circumstances would permit, and a most unequal combat was sustained for several hours, when they abandoned their design, but not until they had killed and wounded eleven out of fifteen of the boat's crew.

All overtures of peace failing, and the depredations still continuing, an attempt at coercion became indispensable. Accordingly, on the 30th September, 1790, the President, by and with the consent and advice of the Congress of the United States, despatched Gen. Harmer, with 320 federal troops and 1133 militia under his command, to attack and destroy their principal villages.

The troops, after seventeen days march from Miami, reached the great Miami village, without any other molestation than that of having a number of their pack-horses stolen. On their arrival they found the village deserted, and all the valuable buildings in flames, set on fire by the Indians. After a short tarry they proceeded to the neighbouring villages, without molestation, and destroyed five of them, and a large quantity of corn which they found buried in different places; and very large quantities of vegetables of every kind.

The first opposition that was met with, a party of about 150 Kentucky militia, and 80 regular troops, all under the command of Col. Harding, of Kentucky, were detached from the main body lying in the great Miami village, to pursue the trail of a party of Indians which had the day before been discovered. After a

pursuit of about six miles they came up with, and were attacked on surprise by a body of Indians who were concealed in the thickets on every side of a large plain; and on the first onset the militia without exchanging a single shot, made a most precipitate retreat and left the regular troops to stand the whole charge of the Indians. The conflict was short and bloody. The troops were soon overpowered by numbers, and all fell except two or three officers, and two or three privates, after defending themselves at their bayonet points with the greatest possible obstinacy. Ensign Hartshorn was one of the officers who providentially escaped, and his escape appeared to depend more on a lucky circumstance of faltering over a log, in his retreat, and by that means screening himself from the eye of his pursuers, than from any other circumstance. Capt. Armstrong, who commanded the party, likewise made his escape, by plunging himself into a pond or swamp up to his neck, within 200 yards of the field of action, where he remained the whole night a spectator to the horrid scene of the war dance, performed over the dead and wounded bodies of the poor soldiers that had fallen the preceding day; where their shrieks, mixed with the horrid yells of the savages, rendered his situation shocking.

After this some few skirmishes succeeded, but nothing material, until the second capital action, which happened two days after the army left the Miami village. At ten miles distance from the town, the general ordered a halt, and detached from four to five hundred militia, and about sixty regular soldiers, under the command of Major Wylleys and Col. Harding, who were ordered to march back to the town. On their first entrance there appeared a small body of Indians, who immediately fled at the first onset, and by that means decoyed the whole body of the militia, by making their flight in different directions, and encouraging the militia to pursue. By this stratagem the few regular troops were left alone, and the In-

dians had effected their design, for the moment they found the small handful of regular troops detached from the main body of the militia, they commenced the attack with their whole force, excepting their flying parties that had divided the militia; and although they soon found some part of the militia returning on their backs, pursued their object of routing and destroying the troops, as the only sure plan of success; which, after a most bloody conflict on each side, they effected.

Nothing could exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion. The militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers. A number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head. The defeat of the troops was complete. The dead and wounded were left on the field of action in possession of the savages.

The following is a copy of the official return of the killed and wounded in the expedition:

Killed of the federal troops, 1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 73 rank and file; total, 75. Wounded, 3 rank and file.

Killed of the militia, 1 Major, 3 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 93 rank and file; total, 108. Wounded, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 22 rank and file; total, 25.

The regular troops all to nine, including two commissioned officers, were killed. Among the slain was Major Wyleys, and a number of brave and valuable soldiers. The Indians, it appeared, from some cause, did not think it prudent to pursue their successes from the field of action, as most of the troops that were not killed or badly wounded made their escape, which they could not have effected had the enemy pursued with their usual fury.

CHAPTER X.

DEFEAT OF GEN. ST. CLAIR BY THE INDIANS.

GEN. ST. CLAIR TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Fort Washington, Nov. 9, 1791.

“Sir,

“YESTERDAY afternoon the remains of the army under my command got back to this place, and I have now the painful task to give an account of a warm, and as unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment, that had been detached upon a service that I had the honour to inform you of in my last despatch, and had not joined me.

“On the 3d inst. the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide running to the southward of west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, that empties into the Miami of the lake, arrived at the village about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near nine miles, and were immediately encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front. The right wing, composed of Butler, Clark and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line; and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment commanded by Col. Drake, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow.

The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek, a steep bank, and Faulkener's corps. Some of the cavalry and their piquets covered the left flank. The militia were sent over the creek and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about 15 miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up, but they did not permit me to execute either ; for on the 4th, about half an hour before sun-rise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day-light,) an attack was made upon the militia, who gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, which, together with part of Clark's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both these officers, was never altogether remedied. The Indians followed close at their heels ; the fire however of the front line checked them, but almost instantaneously a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from the fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were fallen in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done with the bayonet.

"Lt. Col. Drake was accordingly ordered to make a charge with a part of the second line, and to turn

the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit, and at first promised much success. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pursued back the troops that were posted there.

“Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler and Clark’s battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with some raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of made by the second regiment, and Butler’s battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Capt. Greateon, was shot through the body.

“Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Capt. Ford, who was badly wounded, more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment; from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but it was in fact to gain the road. This was effected; and as soon as it was open the militia entered it, followed by the troops; Major Clark with his battalion covering the rear.

“The retreat in those circumstances was, you may be sure, a precipitate one. It was in fact a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the

greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit (which continued about four miles) had ceased.

“I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward either to halt the front or prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to.

“The route continued quite to fort Jefferson, 29 miles, which was reached a little after sun-set. The action began about half an hour before sun-rise, and the retreat was attempted at half past nine o’clock.

“I have not yet been able to get the returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieut. Col. Oldham, of the militia, Majors Ferguson, Hart and Clark, are among the former.

“I have now, Sir, finished my melancholy tale; a tale that will be felt, sensibly felt, by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, Sir, to lay to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy upon the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting, but worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, or perhaps ought to have been.

“We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

“At fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, Sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate; for I very much doubt, whether, had it been in the action the fortune of the day had been turned; and if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of means of defence.

“Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at fort Jefferson, and that there was no provisions in the fort, I called on the field officers for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a footing as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was probable, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, because it was too small, and there was no provision in it; that provisions were known to be upon the road at the distance of one or at most two marches; that therefore it would be proper to move without loss of time to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort.

“This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion again at ten o’clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour; part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to fort Hamilton, and the remainder about fifty horse loads, sent forward to fort Jefferson.

"I have said, Sir, in the former part of my communication, that we were overpowered by numbers; of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground, few of the enemy showing themselves on foot, except when they were charged, and that in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above 350 yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters.

"The loss, Sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly Gen. Butler, and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

"Hon. Secretary of War."

The defeat of Gen. St. Clair took place within three miles of the Miami village. The loss on this occasion was about 600 killed and wounded, (said to be nearly equal to Braddock's defeat,) with seven pieces of artillery, and all the stores. Gen. St. Clair had about 1200 men; had reason to expect an attack, and kept his men under arms all night, drawn up in a square. The attack commenced about dawn of day, on all the lines, but principally on the rear lines, which was composed of the militia. The Indians gave one fire and rushed on tomahawk in hand. The militia gave way to the centre; and before the artillery could be brought into action the matrosses were all killed and it fell into the hands of the enemy.

It was retaken, but was useless, for want of men to manage the pieces. The action was continued obstinately until 9 o'clock, when the troops gave way. St. Clair rallied his men, and brought them off in tolerable order, with most of the wounded, to fort

Jefferson, 30 miles in the rear of the action. The enemy pursued five miles.

The following is a copy of a return of the officers killed and wounded in the engagement:

Killed, 1 Major General, 1 Lieut. Colonel, 5 Majors, 11 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 9 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon. Total, 38.

Wounded, 2 Lieut. Colonels, 1 Major, 11 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon. Total, 27.

Besides the above, there was about 550 privates killed and many more wounded. Few officers of distinction escaped except Gen. St. Clair, who had many narrow escapes. Eight balls passed through his clothes. The attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians. In a few moments the General's tent was surrounded. However, he was rescued by a party of regular soldiers, who repelled the enemy with fixed bayonets. There was a party of the Chickasaw nation on their way to join Gen. St. Clair, but did not arrive in season. There was but one fellow only of that nation in the action, who killed and scalped eleven of the enemy with his own hands, and engaging with the twelfth, he fell, greatly lamented by the Americans.

Major Gen. Butler was wounded and carried to a convenient place to have his wounds dressed, but an Indian having discovered the place to which he was conveyed, broke through the troops who attended him, and tomahawked and scalped the former, before he was killed by the troops.

Agreeable to the statement of the Indians, they killed 650 of the American troops, and took seven pieces of cannon, 200 oxen and a great number of horses, but no prisoners; and that their loss was only 56 warriors killed. They stated that they were 4000 strong, and were commanded by one of the Missasago Indians, who had been in the British service in the late war; that he planned and conducted the attack,

which was even contrary to the opinion of a majority of the chiefs; and that, after the Americans began to retreat, he told the Indians they had killed enough, and that it was proper to give over the pursuit, and return and enjoy the booty they had taken. He was six feet in height, about 45 years of age, of a very sour and morose countenance, and apparently very crafty and subtle. His dress was Indian hose and moccasins, a blue petticoat that came half way down his thighs, and European waistcoat and surtout. His head was bound with an Indian cap that came half way down his back, and almost entirely filled with plain silver broaches to the number of more than 200. He had two ear-rings to each ear; the upper part of each was formed of three silver medals about the size of a dollar; the lower part was formed of quarters of dollars, and fell more than 12 inches from the ears; one from each ear over his breast; the other over his back. He had three very large nose jewels of silver that were curiously painted.

The party of friendly Chickasaws, who were on their way to join the American troops, arrived at fort Jefferson two days after the bloody action. They were commanded by Piomingo, or the mountain leader. On their way they discovered that the troops had been defeated, and saw one of the enemy, who, mistaking Piomingo's party for some of his own comrades, made up to them. He perceived his mistake, but too late to retreat. He was accosted by Piomingo with "Rascal, you have been killing white men." He endeavoured to excuse himself, but Piomingo ordered two of his warriors to expand his arms, and a third, an old man (for says Piomingo, "none of my young men shall disgrace themselves so much as to kill a wretch like thee") to shoot him through the heart; which was accordingly executed. They afterwards took off his scalp.

During St. Clair's bloody engagement, Adjutant Bulgess received two wounds, the second of which proved mortal. After the receipt of the first he

continued to fight with distinguished gallantry ; the second unfortunately stopped his progress. Faint with the loss of blood, he fell. A woman who attended him, and was particularly attached to him, raised him up, and while supporting him in her arms received a ball in her breast which put an immediate end to her existence !

Soon after Ensign Wilson (a much lamented youth) fell, one of the savages attempted to take off his scalp, which Col. Drake perceiving, he hastened to the spot, and with his sword stabbed the miscreant through the body.

INDIANS DEFEATED.

A few weeks after the defeat of the troops under Gen. St. Clair, Gen. Scott despatched from the men under his command two spies to reconnoitre the enemy, who, when they arrived at the distance of a few miles from the fatal spot where the bloody action was fought, they discovered a large party of Indians diverting and enjoying themselves with the plunder they had taken, riding the bullocks, &c. and appeared to be mostly drunk. The men returned and communicated the important information to Gen. Scott, who thereupon immediately divided his troops into three divisions, advanced and fell on the enemy by surprise. The contest was short but victorious on the part of the American troops. Two hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, all the cannon and stores in their possession retaken, and the remainder of the savage body put to flight. Gen. Scott, losing but six men, returned to head-quarters in triumph, with most of the cattle, stores, &c.

Gen. Scott gave the following affecting account of the appearance of the field on which the bloody action between the American troops under Gen. St. Clair and the savages was fought: "The place had a very melancholy appearance. Nearly in the

space of 350 yards lay 300 skull bones, which were buried by my men while on the ground; from thence for five miles on, and the roads through the woods, was strewed with skeletons, muskets, &c."

DEFEAT OF MAJOR M'MAHON.

On the 29th of July, 1794, Major M'Mahon marched with 80 riflemen, under the command of Capt. Hartshorn, and 50 dragoons under the command of Captain Taylor, for fort Recovery, as an escort to 300 pack horses loaded with flour for that garrison; on the morning following, after they had deposited their loading, and were preparing to set out on their return, they were attacked by an army of 1200 Indians. Capt. Hartshorn, who had advanced with the riflemen about a quarter of a mile into the woods, immediately took post on a very strong commanding piece of ground near the garrison, and with unparalleled bravery, maintained the unequal fight till Major M'Mahon, who had put himself at the head of the cavalry, was killed, as was Capt. Taylor, and Cornet Terry, and many of the men wounded. The enemy now put their force against Capt. Hartshorn, and in the moment when they were pushing to cut off his communication with the garrison, Lieut. Drake and Ensign Dodd sallied out at the head of 20 brave fellows, who turned out voluntarily on the occasion, and joined him, after beating the enemy at the point of the bayonet. At this instant the brave Captain Hartshorn received a shot which broke his thigh. Lieut. Craig was killed, and Lieut. Marks taken prisoner. Lieut. Drake now ordered a retreat, and on endeavouring to hold the enemy in check so as to give the men time to save Capt. Hartshorn, he received a shot in the groin. The enemy now pressed so hard as to compel the men to leave their captain.

Great numbers of the Indians must have been killed, as they came forward in solid columns up to

the muzzle of the guns. Lieut. Michael, who was with Capt. Hartshorn, but whom he had detached with a few active men to the flank of the enemy, was now missing; and while their companions in the fort were deploring their fate, and had given them up as lost, they saw him and Lieutenant Marks rushing through the thick of the enemy at opposite directions, and although numbers of guns were fired at them, they got in safe. Lieutenant Michael lost every man of his party except three, and Lieutenant Marks got off by knocking down the Indian who took him.

The Indians were observed to carry off great numbers of killed and wounded on pack-horses. The loss of the Americans was 23 killed, and about 40 wounded. The party commanded by Capt. Hartshorn brought in ten scalps of the enemy.

CHAPTER XI.

DEPREDACTIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE FRONTIERS.

On the 19th December, 1791, as two men and three boys were fishing on Floyd's fork of Salt River, they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, who killed the two men and made prisoners of the boys. Soon after they liberated one of the lads, first presenting him with a tomahawk, which they desired him to carry to his friends and inform them what had become of his companions.

About the 20th a party of Indians attacked the house of a Mr. Chenoweth, situated near the mouth of the Wabash. They killed and scalped two of his children and tomahawked and scalped his wife, whom they left for dead. Mr. C. (who had his arm broken by the fire of the savages) with the remainder of the family made their escape. A sick daughter who was confined to her chamber, and who, during the bloody affray, had been forgotten by her father, remained ignorant of the horrid massacre until the succeeding day; when no one of the family coming to her assistance, she succeeded in crawling down stairs, where she was inexpressibly shocked at the sight of a beloved parent stretched upon the floor, almost lifeless, and at the side of whom lay the mangled bodies of her dear brothers. Fortunately, her unhappy father returned the succeeding day to the house, and conveyed the two surviving members of his family to the house of a friend, where they finally recovered.

On the 24th a party of Indians attacked the dwelling house of a Mr. John Merrill in Nelson county, Kentucky. Mr. Merrill, who was first alarmed by the barking of his dog, hastened to the door to dis-

cover the cause; on opening of which he received the fire of the Indians which broke his right leg and arm. The Indians now attempted to enter the house, but were prevented by the door being immediately closed and secured by Mrs. Merrill and her daughter. The Indians succeeded in hewing away a part of the door, through which passage one of them attempted to enter, but the heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children and groaning husband, seized an axe and gave the ruffian a fatal blow; after which she hauled him through the passage into the house! The others unconscious of the fate of their companion, supposing that they had now nearly succeeded in their object, rushed forward; four of which Mrs. Merrill in like manner despatched before the others discovered their mistake. The remaining Indians, after retiring for a few moments, returned and renewed their efforts to enter the house. Despairing of succeeding at the door they got on the top of the house and attempted to descend the chimney; to prevent which Mr. Merrill directed his little son to empty upon the fire the contents of a feather-bed, which had the desired effect, as the smoke and heat caused thereby soon brought down, rather unexpectedly, two of the enemy. Mr. Merrill, exerting every faculty at this critical moment, seized a billet of wood with which he soon despatched the two half smothered Indians, while in the mean time his heroic wife was busily engaged in defending the door against the efforts of the only remaining one, whom she so severely wounded with an axe that he was soon glad to retire.

A prisoner who escaped from the enemy soon after the transaction, informed that the wounded savage above mentioned was the only one that escaped of the party, which consisted of eight; that on his return being asked by the prisoner "what news," he answered, "bad news for poor Indian, me lose a son, me lose a brother; the squaws have taken the breach clout and fight worse than the "long knives!"

COPY OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN RESIDING AT THE WESTWARD,
TO A FRIEND IN NEW-YORK, DATED

“Marietta, Feb. 1, 1792.

“Our prospects are much changed. Instead of peace and friendship with our Indian neighbours, a horrid savage war stares us in the face. The Indians instead of being humbled by the destruction of the Shawanese towns, and brought to beg for peace, appear determined on a general war, in which our settlements are already involved. On the evening of the 2d instant they fell on a settlement about forty miles up the Muskingum, surprised a block-house, killed fourteen persons and carried off three others. The persons killed are, John and Philip Stacy, sons to Col. William Stacy from New-Salem; Ezra Putnam, son to Major Ezra Putnam, from Middletown, in Massachusetts; John Camp, from the same place; Jonathan Farewell, James Cash, and William Patton, from New-Hampshire; Zebulon Throop, from Barre; William James, from Connecticut; Joseph Clark, from Rhode-Island; a man by the name of Meeks, with his wife and children, from Virginia. These were all killed in and at the block-house. Francis and Isaac Choat from Lancaster, and one Shaw, who kept at a hut about 50 rods from the block-house, was not found by the party that went out, and it is hoped that they are prisoners. What number of Indians were concerned in this mischief, or from what tribe, we know not; but from those Indians who till lately used to visit our settlements every day, withdrawing themselves entirely from our sight ever since the expedition against the Shawanese, there is little reason to doubt but the Delawares and the Wyandots, as well as others, have had a hand in this nefarious business.

“It is impossible for me to give a just idea of the distress into which this event has thrown the inhabitants, especially those of the out settlements. For my own part I have for some time been of opinion,

that the spring would open with a general attack on the frontiers, in which event I did not expect we should escape, unless government should timely send troops for our protection, which we were in hopes would be the case. But it seems the enemy are determined to take advantage of our defenceless situation. I consider this event as the forerunner of other attacks of a more serious nature, and which may involve us in complete ruin, unless prevented by government immediately taking measures for our protection. To their protection I conceive we always had an indisputable claim, which claim, if possible, is increased by the circumstances that have brought us under the resentment of the Indians, and at least, in some measure produced the mischief that we are fallen into."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN KENTUCKY TO HIS FRIEND
IN PHILADELPHIA, DATED

"March 3, 1792.

"As to the Indians, they have been troublesome all winter. Since October last 60 persons have been killed within the limits of this district, beside a number destroyed on the Ohio; among whom is our old acquaintance, Mr. John May, late of Botetoute, whose exit deserves notice, because he was actuated by motives of humanity. The affair is thus related by a captive that has lately made his escape from the Indians, who was a spectator, and an unwilling instrument in the Tragedy.

"Mr. May, in descending the Great Kanhawa and Ohio, about the 20th of February last, discovered on the western shore of the latter, near the mouth of Sciota, a white man, who with a plaintive voice, was calling, for God's sake, to come and take a poor prisoner on board, that was endeavouring to escape from the savages. This had the desired effect. Mr. May ordered the boat towards the shore, and did not discover his mistake until the Indians rose

up from their ambush, fired, shot him dead, and wounded some others of the passengers on board, who immediately endeavoured to make off; but being told in the English tongue, they should have good quarters, surrendered without resistance. The Indians, however, on boarding the boat, massacred all without discrimination. Two days after, the same party attempted to decoy three large boats ashore that were coming down from fort Pitt, but luckily they were discovered in time, and our people sheered off. The enemy, being prepared, manned one of their boats with about 30 warriors, and gave chase. The crews of two of the boats, fearing they might be overtaken, quitted them, and went on board the best sailer, where they threw overboard all their horses, and some heavy articles, and plied all their oars to effect their escape. The Indians also exerted themselves in the pursuit, keeping on a steady course for about 20 miles, notwithstanding 24 well armed white men were on board the American boat, with one of our colonels of militia.

“Thus, for want of a little resolution and skill a favourable opportunity was lost, to destroy a number of the vile enemies of the human race. The Indians, on their return, took possession of the two boats that were abandoned, and found in them 17 horses, 5000 dollars worth of merchandize, and considerable property, belonging to the emigrants.

“Fort M’Intosh, on the Ohio, was a short time since attacked by a party of the Indians. They secreted themselves near the fort and succeeded in killing the sentinel on duty. They then rushed into the fort and discharged their pieces on those within. One man only was wounded, who, in endeavouring to escape was tomahawked by an Indian. One ball just grazed the temple of Capt. Forbes, who commanded the guard, and four others struck the log above his head, the splinters and bits of which cut his face, and left it as if scarified. The garrison consisted of 20 men, and there were about 40 of the enemy.

“Thus, Sir, we find that Indian treaties do not secure our country from the depredations of the savages. Our last hope now is that the President of the United States will, ere long, adopt such measures as will prove the efficiency of the Federal Government, to protect the citizens of the United States, however remotely situated from the seat of government.”

COPI OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN SOUTH CAROLINA TO A FRIEND IN NEW-YORK, DATED

“Charleston, August 6, 1792.

“An express arrived from Gen. Pickens and Col. Anderson, which brings advices to the Governor, stating, that a general Indian war on the western frontiers of the southern states seems inevitable; that by intelligence from the country of the Creeks, all the tribes except the Custawas are determined for war, urged by Galphin, the successor of M’Gillivray; and that they have already commenced hostilities within the Carolina line, a party of them having killed and scalped a man on Tugaloo. We hear his Excellency has ordered one third of the militia in the upper districts to be drafted, and held in readiness for immediate service, should the savages make further depredations on the frontiers.

“Yesterday evening a gentleman arrived here from Augusta, who informed us that six of the Creek towns, with a number of Cherokees, had declared war against the United States, and were actually marching under the command of Bowles and Galphin to attack the frontiers.

“On the 22d ult. the Indians, 37 in number, came to the house of a Mr. Richard Thresher, in Augusta, and fired upon and killed Mr. Thresher, two children and a negro woman. Mrs. Thresher, to avoid if possible the fate with which she was threatened, fled with an infant of about five or six weeks old in her arms, and leaped into the river. The Indians pursued, shot her through each thigh and right

breast, stabbed her in the left breast with a knife, cut her left arm nearly off, and then scalped her. In this horrid situation she remained until the neighbours could assemble in sufficient numbers to cross the river and pursue the Indians. As the first canoe was crossing she had strength enough to call for assistance. They went, found her hanging by a bush in water nearly up to her chin, her infant at the bottom of the river, a few yards from her. She lived 24 hours, and when informed by her physician that it was impossible for her to survive much longer, she, with a fortitude that is rarely to be met with, called her friends around her, and in a calm but pathetic manner, gave her hand to each one, wishing them a better fate than had befallen herself and family; and when, after her speech failed, as neighbours were constantly coming in, she continued to give her hand until about five minutes before she resigned her breath, which was without a groan.

“Mrs. Thresher was about 25 years of age, of a respectable family and elegant person, and possessed an uncommon education.

“On Thursday the 24th, two men were killed in Franklin and 40 horses carried off; and since the accounts above received, all the inhabitants on the frontiers have retreated into forts, without arms or ammunition. At one meeting of near 40 persons, they could only muster five old muskets; and to heighten the horror of their condition, the Indians were momentarily expected.

“As similar murders were daily committed, it called up the spirit of 800 gallant fellows, who marched last week against the savages, determined to revenge the cruelties perpetrated on the infant, the mother and the defenceless.

“To see the country all in forts, breaking up, leaving their farms, their corn and their houses burnt up, is truly distressing. At this time nearly half the country are in forts.

“Capt. Kenton with about 35 men, who went up the Ohio in order to intercept the Indians who took Morgan’s station, fell in with a trail of a party of Indians on the waters of point Creek, coming in to the settlement. He followed them, and at night observing he was near them, sent forward some spies to discover their fires. Unluckily the spies fell in with their camp, and before they discovered it the Indians were alarmed by a dog which flew out at the spies; upon which the Indians fired on them. The spies returned the fire. Upon hearing the firing the whole of the party came up, and the Indians retreated, leaving their baggage; among which was a quantity of powder, lead and blankets. Kenton had one man killed. It is supposed two Indians were killed and carried off, from some discoveries that were made next morning.”

COPY OF A LETTER FROM FORT WASHINGTON, DATED

“April 20, 1792.

“On Tuesday morning the 6th inst. Major Adair, with 120 volunteers from Kentucky, having charge of a large number of pack-horses laden with provisions, destined for the advanced posts, was most daringly attacked by nearly an equal party of Indians, although under cover of fort St. Clair; notwithstanding which, and that our people fought desperately, the Indians drove them into the fort, and carried off all their provisions and horses, both pack and cavalry, save about twenty killed and four wounded, and stripped the camp of every thing, carrying the whole off with most audacious insult and triumph. But as soon as the party were resupplied with ammunition from the garrison, they sallied forth near a quarter of a mile from the enemy; but too late to recover the booty which the Indians had made. The courage and daring spirit of these people were particularly conspicuous on this occasion, as they fought almost under the guns of the fort. Our loss was one

captain and ten privates killed, and some wounded, besides horses and provisions, estimated at 15,000 dollars. Two of the enemy were found dead a short distance from the field of action. If these Indians had writers among them, what honourable testimony and eulogy might they not give of the noble spirit and heroic bravery, of the native American character, rather than depreciate it as the Europeans do. Two of our men have lately made their escape from the Miami villages and arrived here, who give account of a mock fight lately exhibited by the Indians assembled there, and to divert the 'squaws and children. It was in ridicule of General St. Clair's disposition of his troops on the 4th of November last, and of his flight before the Indians, who pursued him and his army whilst the other plundered his camp. They have given out that they mean to celebrate this event annually by a like sham fight and a great dance, to be called General St. Clair's fight and dance. It is to be hoped we yet shall have an opportunity to retaliate and to teach our enemy to amuse themselves at our expense in a less ludicrous manner. It seems that Gen. St. Clair's field of action was on a branch of the Wabash, 24 leagues from the Miami towns, which are now inhabited by the hostile Indians.

"A letter from a correspondent, on whose veracity we can rely, in the territory of the United States south of the river Ohio, dated the 17th ult. states, that every thing wears a gloomy aspect on the western frontiers; that about the last of December the Cherokees sent in peace talkers to Governor Blount, which were only intended to facilitate the commission of further depredations by them, when the guards from out posts were withdrawn; that from the 16th to the 26th of January, the Indians killed and wounded 19 persons in Cumberland, among whom was Edwin Shelby, brother to the Governor of Kentucky; that four of the Chickamogga towns, and the upper Creeks have declared war; that the Creeks have killed a family in the county of Georgia;

that the barbarity exercised by them in this massacre was enough to make human nature shudder at the bare recital. They butchered them like so many dogs, caught their blood and bowels, exposed them to view, and then gave the whole to a tame bear to devour; that the Cherokees had killed two Creeks, wounded several, and taken two prisoners; that the Creeks threaten to retaliate, and cut them all off; that the inhabitants of the territory are waiting with impatience for the general government to afford them succour and protection; that treaties with the savages will avail nothing, as what promises they make to-day they will not hesitate to break to-morrow."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. JOHN CORBLY, A BAPTIST MINISTER,
TO HIS FRIEND IN PHILADELPHIA, DATED

"Muddy Creek, Penn. Sept. 1, 1792.

"Dear Sir,

"The following are the particulars of the destruction of my unfortunate family by the savages. On the 10th May last, being my appointment to preach at one of my meeting houses, about a mile from my dwelling house, I sat out with my loving wife and five children, for public worship. Not suspecting any danger, I walked behind a few rods with my Bible in my hand, meditating. As I was thus employed, on a sudden I was greatly alarmed by the frightful shrieks of my dear family before me. I immediately ran to their relief with all possible speed, vainly hunting a club as I ran. When within a few yards of them, my poor wife observing me, cried out to me to make my escape. At this instant an Indian ran up to shoot me. I had to strip, and by so doing out-ran him. My wife had an infant in her arms, which the Indians killed and scalped. After which they struck my wife several times, but not bringing her to the ground, the Indian who attempted to shoot me approached her and shot her through the body. After which they scalped her! My

little son, about six years old, they despatched by sinking their hatchets into his brains! My little daughter, four years old, they in like manner tomahawked and scalped! My eldest daughter attempted an escape by concealing herself in a hollow tree, about six rods from the fatal scene of action. Observing the Indians retiring, as she supposed, she deliberately crept from the place of her concealment, when one of the Indians, who yet remained on the ground, espying her, ran up to her, and with his tomahawk knocked her down and scalped her. But, blessed be God, she yet survives, as does her little sister whom the savages in like manner tomahawked and scalped. They are mangled to a shocking degree, but the doctors think there are some hopes of their recovery.

“When I supposed the Indians gone, I returned to see what had become of my unfortunate family, whom, alas, I found in the situation above described. No one, my dear friend, can form a true conception of my feelings at this moment. A view of a scene so shocking to humanity quite overcome me. I fainted, and was unconsciously borne off by a friend who at that instant arrived to my relief.

“Thus, dear sir, have I given you a faithful though a short narrative of the fatal catastrophe; amidst which my life is spared, but for what purpose the Great JEHOVAH best knows. Oh, may I spend it to the praise and glory of his grace, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. The government of the world and the church is in his hands. I conclude with wishing you every blessing, and subscribe myself your affectionate though afflicted friend, and unworthy brother in the gospel ministry.

“JOHN CORBLY.”

On the 27th September, 1792, as five gentlemen (Messrs. Jacobus Taller, Isaac Arnold, James Stewart, Daniel Barclay, and Isaac Van Alstyne,) were

on their way to Detroit, at a place called the Burdle, on Lake Erie, they were suddenly attacked by four Mahagon or Delaware Indians, armed with muskets and tomahawks, who fired on them and killed Mr. Taller and Mr. Barclay dead on the spot, and wounded Mr. Arnold. They then rushed on with their tomahawks. One attacked Mr. Arnold, who, after a smart struggle, in which he received several wounds in his head, disengaged himself, and having a musket at the instant presented him by Mr. Stewart, snapped it at the Indian, who immediately thereupon with the three others fled to the woods. As soon as they had disappeared, Mr. Arnold and his companions hastened to the shore of the lake, in which they launched their batteau, but when about thirty rods from the shore, they were hailed by Mr. Van Alstyne, who during the bloody contest had secreted himself in the bushes. He begged of his companions to return and take him on board, on which Mr. Arnold requested him to proceed a few rods down the lake to a point of land, where he could more conveniently take him in. Mr. Van Alstyne, it was supposed, misunderstanding his friend, proceeded directly up the lake, to the very spot where the Indians were then assembled, who with their tomahawks instantly despatched him; after which they followed the two survivors, in an old canoe, two or three miles down the lake, but being unable to overtake them they discontinued the pursuit.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN MARIETTA TO HIS FRIEND
IN WASHINGTON, DATED

“Marietta, March 4, 1793.

“About two weeks since two brothers by the name of Johnson, one 12 the other 9 years of age, were playing on the western bank of Short Creek, about 12 miles from this, skipping stones in the water. At a distance they discovered two men, who appeared to be settlers, being dressed with coats and

hats. These men, to amuse and deceive the children, engaged in the same sport, advancing toward the boys till by degrees they got so near that the children discovered them to be Indians ; but it was then too late to make their escape. The Indians seized and carried them six miles into the woods, where they made a fire, and took up their lodgings for the night. Their rifles and tomahawks they rested against a tree, and then laid down, each Indian with a boy on his arm. The children as may be supposed kept awake. The eldest began to move, and finding his Indian sound asleep, by degrees disengaged himself and went to the fire, which had then got low, and stirred it up ; the Indian not waking, he whispered to his brother, who likewise crept away, and both of them went to the fire.

“The oldest boy then observed to his brother, “I think we can kill these Indians, and get rid of them.” The youngest agreed in the proposal of attempting it. The oldest then took one of the rifles, and placed the muzzle, which he rested on a small stick, that he found for the purpose, close to the head of one of the Indians, and committing the execution of this part of the business to his brother, ordered him to pull the trigger at the moment he saw him strike the other Indian with one of the tomahawks. The oldest gave the signal ! The youngest pulled the trigger. The rifle shot away the lower part of the Indian’s face, and left him senseless ; he then told his brother to lay on, for he had done the deed for his ; after which he snatched up the gun and ran. The boy with the tomahawk gave the stroke with the wrong end. The Indian started on his seat. The boy found the mistake, and turning the tomahawk in his hand, gave him another blow which brought him to the ground. He repeated his strokes until he had despatched him, and then made the best of his way after his brother. When the boys had found the path which they recollected to have travelled before, the eldest fixed his hat on a

bush, as a directory to find the scene of action the next day. The tomahawked Indian was found near the place where the boys had left him. The other was not there; but was tracked by his blood, and although so weakened by his wounds that he could not raise his rifle to fire at the pursuers, they suffered him to escape; but it is supposed he must have died of his wounds. These two Indians were sent out to reconnoitre the best place for an attack, which was to have been made by a body of warriors, waiting in the neighbourhood.”

COPY OF A LETTER FROM COL. ROBERTSON, TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, DATED

“Nashville February 1, 1798.

“SIR—By accounts received from the Chickasaw nation of Indians, we are informed that at a grand council of their warriors, it was unanimously determined to commence active operations against the whites. The Cherokees they expect will join them. The white inhabitants in this quarter are drawing together, and are doing every thing possible for their defence, but I fear without some timely assistance we shall all fall a sacrifice to the wanton barbarity of our savage foes, who we expect are now on their way to this place to the number of 1000. Major Hall and his eldest son fell a sacrifice to their fury two days ago, near Bedloe’s Lick. They have killed about 24 persons in the course of a few months in this settlement, besides a great number more near it.

“From Burke county we learn, that on the 11th instant two men, a woman and her infant daughter, were scalped at Williams’s Swamp, on the Ogeche river, by a party of Indians. The little girl, to deter them from their cruel design, held out a bottle of honey, telling them it was rum, begging them in the mean time to spare her life. They told her they did not want rum, but her hair! They knocked her down

and scalped her, but we are happy to learn she is in a fair way of recovery.

“By a letter from Kentucky I am informed that the Indians have done more mischief in that state the present year than for at least four years past. Scarce a boat can pass below Limestone but what is attacked by them. Six or seven have been captured, some with very valuable lading. By a prisoner who escaped from them a short time since, we are informed that the Indians have procured a boat, or rather a kind of floating battery, with the sides built high and rendered bullet proof. This boat is stationed near the mouth of the Great Miami. They a few days since captured a boat in which were a Capt. Ashley and his family. A son of the Captain having been very spirited in the opposition, the savages immediately put him to death, cut out his heart, and broiled it, which they afterwards devoured in the presence of the unhappy father, who has since made his escape.”

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GEN. CLARKE TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA, DATED

“Long Creek, Sept. 24, 1793.

“SIR—I had certain information that a man was killed on the 14th near Greensborough, by a party of six or seven Indians; and that on the 16th Col. Barber, with a small party, was waylaid by 50 or 60 Indians, by whom three of his party were killed. This, together with a variety of other accounts equally alarming, determined me to raise what men I could in the course of 24 hours, and march with them to protect the frontiers; in which space of time I collected 164 men, chiefly volunteers, and proceeded to the place where Col. Barber had been attacked, where I found the bodies of the three men mentioned above, mangled in a shocking manner, and after I had buried them, proceeding on the trail of the murderers as far as the south fork of the Oakmulgee, where, finding I had no chance of overtaking them, I left it

and went up said river, until I met with a fresh trail of Indians coming in towards our frontier settlements. I immediately turned and followed this trail until the morning of the 21st, between 11 and 12 o'clock, when I came up with them. They had just crossed a branch, called Jack's Creek, through a thick cane brake, and were encamped and cooking on an eminence. My force then consisted of 130 men, 30 having been sent back on account of their horses having been tired and lost. I drew up my men in three divisions, the right commanded by Colonel Freeman and Major Clark, who were ordered to surround and charge the Indians, which they did with such dexterity and spirit that they immediately drove them from their encampment back into the cane brake, where, finding it impossible for them to escape, they obstinately returned our fire until half past four o'clock, when they ceased, except now and then a shot.

“During the latter part of the action they seized every opportunity of escaping by small parties, leaving the rest to shift for themselves. About sun-set I thought it most adviseable to draw off, as the men had suffered for want of provisions nearly two days, and for want of water during the action, but more particularly to take care of the wounded, which amounted to eleven; and six killed. From every circumstance I am certain there were not less than 25 Indians killed, and probably double that number wounded. In short they were totally defeated, with the loss of their provisions, clothing, &c. consisting of the following articles: 4 muskets, 32 brass-kettles, and 100 large packs, containing blankets, match-coats, boots, moccasins, tomahawks, pipes, upwards of 100 halters and bridles, &c. from all of which I judge their number was fully equal to ours. Col. Freeman and Major Clark distinguished themselves, and from the spirit and bravery with which the whole of my little party acted during the action, I do not believe that had we met them in the open woods we should

have been more than five minutes in destroying them all.

“While I was on this excursion, two skirmishes, happened near Greensborough, in one of which, one man was wounded, and in the other six stand of arms were lost, being guarded by only two men, while the rest of the party were gathering fodder.

“I am, Sir, with the utmost respect, your Excellency’s most obedient, and very humble servant,

“B. CLARKE, Brig. Gen.

“His Ex. GEORGE MATHEWS, Governor of Georgia.”

Copy of a letter from an officer in the service of the United States, to his friend in New-York, dated

“Buffaloe Creek, Sept. 27, 1793.

“I left fort Franklin the 3d instant, and arrived here the 11th in the evening, at the house of Mr. Winney, who informs me that upwards of 4000 hostile Indians were now assembled at the Miami villages, and that their number was daily increasing. Captain Powel and several other gentlemen of the British army dined with me yesterday, and from their conversation I am perfectly convinced that the Indians are supported by the British in the war against us. Indeed, Captain Powel told me, that all the intentions of the Indians was well known to them, and the Indians were their allies, and of course they must support them. He also informed me that ten scouts of hostile Indians were then out to strike on the frontiers, and that they would soon strike the Six Nations.—Some of the chiefs of the hostile Indians passed here about five days ago on their way to Canada, but what their business is I cannot learn.”

CHAPTER XII.

DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS BY GEN. WAYNE.

GEN. WAYNE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

“SIR—It is with infinite pleasure that I announce to you the brilliant success of the federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th of August, 1794, on the banks of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison at the foot of the rapids.

“The army advanced from fort Washington on the 15th and arrived at Roach de Bout on the 18th, and on the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood and the British fort.

“At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns agreeably to the standing order of the march; the legion on the right, its right flank covered by the Miamis; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brig.-Gen. Todd, and the other in the rear under Brig.-Gen. Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced and to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

“After advancing about five miles, Maj. Price's

corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

“The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance to support the first, and directed Maj. General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route. At the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge so as not to give them time to load again, or to form their lines.— I also ordered Capt. M. Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were drove from all their coverts in so short a time that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the se-

cond line of the legion, and by Gens. Scott, Wood and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove in the course of one hour more than two miles through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their number.

“From every account the enemy amounted to 2000 combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of 900. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.

“The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my approbation.

“Lieut. Covington, upon whom the command of the cavalry devolved, (capt. Campbell being killed) cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieut. Webb one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

“The wounds received by Captains Slough, Prior, Van Rensalaer and Rawlins, and Lieuts. M'Kenny and Smith, bear honourable testimony of their bravery and conduct. In fact every officer and soldier who had an opportunity to come into action, displayed that true bravery which always ensures success. And here permit me to declare that I have never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers; and I am well persuaded, that, had the enemy maintained their favourite ground for one half hour longer, they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

“But whilst I pay this just tribute to the living, I must not neglect the gallant dead, among whom

we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, Captain Campbell and Lieut. Towles, who fell in the first charge.

“The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the federal army. The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets. We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance above and below the garrison, among which were the houses, stores and property of Col. M’Kee, the British Indian agent and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

“The army returned to head-quarters on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each of the Miamis. It is not improbable but that the enemy may make one desperate effort against the army, as it is said a reinforcement was hourly expected at fort Miamis from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margins and islands of the lakes. This is an event rather to be wished for than dreaded whilst the army remains in force, their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace.

“The following is a return of the killed, wounded and missing of the federal army, in the late action, to wit:

“Killed, 1 Captain, 1 Lieut. 3 Sergeants, 28 privates. Total 33.

“Wounded, 4 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 84 privates. Total 100.

"I have the honour to be, your most obedient and very humble servant.

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

"To the Secretary of War."

The following circumstances which took place previous to, and during Gen. Wayne's engagement, are worthy of record.

At the instant Capt. Campbell was attempting to turn the left flank of the enemy, three of them plunged into the river. Two friendly negroes being on the opposite side, and observing the Indians making for the shore, they placed themselves on the bank behind a log, and as soon as the Indians approached within shot, one of the negroes fired and killed one of the Indians; the other two got hold of him to drag him out, when the other negro fired and killed another; the remaining Indian got hold of both the dead to pull them ashore, when the negro who killed the first having again re-loaded, fired and killed the third, and they all floated down the river.

Another circumstance is also related, viz. A soldier, soon after the conclusion of the action, proceeding some distance from the camp, met an Indian; they attacked each other, the soldier with his bayonet, and the Indian with his tomahawk. Some of the soldiers passing by that way two days after, found them both dead, the soldier with his bayonet in the body of the Indian, and the Indian with his tomahawk in the soldier's head.

The following circumstances took place previous to the action: A Mr. Wells, who, when very young, was taken prisoner by the Indians, and had resided several years among them, had made his escape and was employed by Gen. Wayne as a spy. The day before the action he was taken by the Indians, who determined to put him to death. Finding it impossible to escape, he informed them that Gen. Wayne had not 500 men

under his command, and did not expect an attack. On hearing this, the Indians attacked Gen. Wayne with a confidence inspired by their supposed superiority of numbers, and were repulsed as before mentioned. After the action, Major Campbell, in whose custody the Indians had left Wells, inquired his motives for deceiving them; he answered, "for the good of my country." For this heroic action he was unfeelingly delivered to the Indians, in whose hands it is supposed he experienced every torture that savage barbarity could invent or inflict. The circumstances respecting Mr. Wells were related by a British drummer, who deserted from the fort to Gen. Wayne.

A council of Indians was held a few days after their defeat by Gen. Wayne, in which British agents endeavoured to persuade them to risk another action; but this they refused to do, expressing a willingness to bury the bloody hatchet and return to their homes. Their loss they declared to be 200, and that their whole force at the commencement of the action amounted to 1500 Indians, and 80 Canadians. The body of the collector of Niagara was found among the slain.

But so long as the savages are furnished with all the necessary warlike stores, by foreign emissaries and traders at Detroit, we have no reason to suppose that they will be much disposed to maintain a long peace with the Americans.

The latter ought certainly to take immediate possession of posts that were ceded to them more than eight years since. Until this is done, the frontiers of the Western States cannot rest in security, although formidable armies may be sent against the Indians; indeed so long as these garrisons afford them an assylum and succour on all occasions.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOV. HARRISON'S ENGAGEMENT WITH THE SAVAGES ON THE WABASH.

We should have been extremely happy to have closed the list of savage barbarities with the last chapter ; but, after a cessation of hostilities on their part of more than 16 years, we find them once more collecting in a formidable body on our frontiers, and (instigated by a blood-thirsty savage of the Shawanoe tribe, termed "the Prophet,") commencing an unprovoked attack on the American troops stationed thereon.

The conduct of the Wabash Indians becoming suspicious to our government, in consequence of their many thievish excursions and hasty preparations for an offensive attack, Gov. Harrison, with 2000 men, (350 regulars and the remainder militia) were ordered to proceed from the neighbourhood of Vincennes to the line, and demand of the Prophet the object of his real intentions. The troops commenced their march on the 26th September, and nothing important occurred until their arrival on the line, where they remained near a month, and built a strong fort, which in honour to the commander in chief, was called fort Harrison. The Indians in a friendly manner almost every day visited the camp, and held councils with the Governor, but would not accede to his terms, which were, that their leader (the Prophet) should give up the property stolen from the Americans ; and send all their warriors to their different tribes ; the Governor therefore determined on attacking them. On the 29th October, 1811, the troops left fort Harrison and took up their line of march for the Prophet's town, where they arrived on the 6th November. When within about half a mile

of the town, the troops formed the line of battle, which the Indians perceiving, sent three of their chiefs with a flag of truce, begging that their lives might be spared, pledging themselves that they would not take up the tomahawk against the troops, and that if they would encamp near the town, in the morning they would come to such terms as the governor should propose. This lulled the troops into security, and they encamped about half a mile back of the town. Fifteen minutes before five o'clock the next morning, the savages commenced a furious attack on the left flank of the troops, but not a single gun was fired by the sentinels on the guard in that direction, nor did they make the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp; and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line; but even under those circumstances, the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's company of the 4th U. S. regiment, and Captain Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed.

Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen twentieths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as the governor could mount his horse he rode to the angle that was attacked. He found

that Barton's company had suffered severely, and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. He immediately ordered Cook's company and the late Captain Wentworth's, under Lieut. Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton and Geiger's. His attention was there engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of the United States riflemen (then however armed with muskets) and the companies of Baen, Snelling and Prescott, of the 4th regiment. He found Major Daveiss forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about 15 or 20 paces in front of those companies, he directed the Major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the Major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack his flanks. The Major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by Capt. Snelling at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe. Capt. Spencer and his first and second lieutenants were killed, and Capt. Warwick was mortally wounded. Those companies, however, still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, the commander reinforced him with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb, with Pres-

cott's company of the 4th United States regiment. His great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until day-light, which should enable them to make a general and effectual charge. With this view he had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, he withdrew from the front line, Snelling, Poesy (under Lieut. Albright) and Scott's companies, and from the rear line Wilson and Norris's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank; at the same time ordered Cook and Baen's companies, the former from the rear and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing his intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies, had charged the enemy before he had formed the body of dragoons, with which he meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were thrown into confusion and driven by the infantry at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Capt. Cook and Lieut. Larabee had marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, they charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to a precipitate flight.

The action was maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity quite uncommon even with them. To their savage fury our troops opposed that cool and deliberate valour which is characteristic of the Christian soldier.

Capt. Spencer was wounded in the head. He exhorted his men to fight valiantly. He was shot through both thighs, and fell, still continuing to encourage them. He was raised up, and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to

his existence. Capt. Warwick was shot immediately through the body. Being taken to the surgery to be dressed, as soon as it was over (being a man of great bodily vigour and still able to walk) he insisted upon going back to head his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

There were about 179 of the troops killed and wounded. It was supposed the enemy were about 700 strong, and what they lost about 400 in the engagement. The day succeeding the action, the troops set fire to their town and destroyed every thing valuable, and the morning ensuing struck their tents and commenced their march for Vincennes, where they arrived in safety after a most fatiguing campaign of 55 days, and marching the distance of 320 miles.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded of the army, in the engagement.

Killed, 1 Aid-de-camp, 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals, 30 privates.

Wounded, since dead, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 22 privates.

Wounded, 2 Lieut. Colonels, 1 Surgeon's mate, 2 Captains, 3 Subalterns, 9 Sergeants, 5 Corporals, 1 Musician, 102 privates.

Total killed and wounded, 188.

Names of Officers killed and wounded, as per general return.

General Staff: Killed, Col. Abraham Owens, Aid-de-camp to the Commander in Chief.

Field and Staff: Wounded, Lieut. Col. Joseph Bartholomews, commanding Indiana militia; Lieut. Col. Luke Decker, of do.; Maj. Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding a squadron of dragoons; Dr. Edward Scull, of the Indiana militia; Adjutant James Hunter, of mounted riflemen.

United States Infantry, including the late Captain Whitney's rifle company: Wounded, Capt. W. C. Baer, acting Major, since dead; Lieut. George P. Peters, Lieut. George Gooding, Ensign Henry Burchstead.

Colonel Decker's detachment of Indiana militia; Wounded, Captain Jacob Warrick, since dead.

Major Redman's detachment of Indiana militia: Wounded, Captain John Norris.

Major Wells's detachment of mounted riflemen: Wounded, Captain Frederick Guiger.

Captain Spencer's company, including Lieut. Berry's detachment of mounted riflemen: Killed, Capt. Spier Spencer; First Lieut. Richard M'Mahan, Lt. Thomas Berry.

Copy of a letter from Gov. Harrison to the Honorable Secretary of War, dated

"Vincennes, Dec. 4, 1811.

"SIR—I have the honour to inform you that two principal Chiefs of the Kickapoo of the prairie arrived here bearing a flag, on the evening before last. They informed that they came in consequence of a message from the Chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the Prophet, requiring them to do so, and that the said chief is to be here in a day or two. The account which they give of the late confederacy under the Prophet is as follows.

"The Prophet with his Shawanoes is at a small Huron village about twelve miles from his former residence, on this side the Wabash, where also are 12 or 15 Hurons. The Kickapoos are encamped near the Tippicanoe. The Potawatomies have scattered and gone to different villages of that tribe. The Winebagoes had all set out on their return to their own country, excepting one chief and nine men who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumseh in his tour to the southward, and had only returned to the Prophet's town the day before the action. The Prophet had sent a message to the Kickapoos of the prairie, to request that he might be permitted to retire to their town. This was positively refused, and a warning sent to him not to come

there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo chief here. This was also refused.

“These chiefs say on the whole, that all the tribes who lost warriors in the late action attribute their misfortune to the Prophet alone; that they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes, and threaten him with death; that they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States; that the Prophet’s followers were fully impressed with a belief, that they could defeat us with ease; that it was their intention to have attacked us at fort Harrison if we had gone higher; that the attack made on our sentinels at fort Harrison was intended to shut the door against the accommodation; that the Winebagoes had 40 warriors killed in the action, and the Kickapoos 11, and 10 wounded; that they have never heard how many Pottawatomies and other tribes were killed; that the Pottawatomie chief left by me on the battle ground is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different tribes, and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet and submit to my terms.

“I cannot say, Sir, how much of the above may be depended on. I believe, however, that the statement made by the chief is generally correct, particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquillity than at this time. Before the expedition, not a fortnight passed over without some vexatious depredation being committed. The Kickapoo chiefs certainly tell an untruth, when they say that there were but 11 of this tribe killed and 10 wounded. It is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge, however, that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat since their acquaintance with the white people.

I have the honour to be, &c.

“WM. HENRY HARRISON.

“HON. WM. EUSTIS, Secretary of War.”

CHAPTER XIV.

ENGAGEMENT WITH THE INDIANS, DURING THE LATE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

IN the course of the late war which prevailed between America and Great Britain, the latter having engaged many of the savages in her cause, Gen. Harrison (who was appointed to the command of the volunteers and drafted militia of Ohio, &c.) held a council with a number of Indian Chiefs, who had professed neutral sentiments, to whom he made three propositions: "to take up arms in behalf of the United States—to remove within the lines and remain neutral—or, to go to the enemy and seek their protection." After a short consultation, many of them accepted the first, and made preparations to accompany him in the invasion of Canada. The hostile Indians, however, continued to make inroads into the settlements, and committed frequent barbarities:

The first of September, 1812, a considerable body of British and Indians proceeded from fort Malden, to lay waste the frontiers of Ohio. A principal object appears to have been, the capture of fort Wayne. They burnt several valuable buildings, and killed many of the inhabitants; among whom was a brother of Gov. Meigs.

On the 8th of November, a detachment of 700 men, commanded by Col. Campbell, left Franklinton on an expedition against the Miami Indians, residing at the head of the Wabash. On the 17th December, they reached one of their villages, killed 8 warriors, and took 36 prisoners. They set fire to the village, and encamped a few miles therefrom. A little before the break of day, they were attacked by the exasperated savages in their camp, shouting and yelling horribly.

The Americans sustained the attack until day-light, when the Indians were charged and dispersed with the loss of 35 killed. The loss of the American troops was 8 killed, and 29 wounded.

On the 14th January, 1812, Col. Lewis was despatched to attack a large body of Indians encamped near the river Raisin. On the 18th the attack commenced; on the first onset the savages raised their accustomed yell, but the noise was drowned in the returning shouts of their dauntless assailants. They advanced boldly to the charge and drove them in all directions. On the first fire 16 of the Indians fell. About 40 were killed. Col. Lewis's party lost 12 killed and 52 wounded.

On the 18th, Gen. Winchester proceeded with a reinforcement of 800 men to the village of Frenchtown. On the 22d they were attacked by a combined force of the enemy under command of Tecumseh and Proctor. The American troops were in a moment ready for the reception of the enemy. The right wing sustained the attack for about 30 minutes, when, overpowered by numbers, they retreated over the river, and were met by a large body of Indians. The troops finding their retreat cut off, resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible, and fought with desperation; but few of these brave fellows, however, escaped the tomahawk. The left wing with equal bravery maintained their ground within their pickets. The Indians and regulars made three different charges upon them, but the troops, with the most determined bravery and presence of mind, reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within point blank shot; they then opened a most galling fire upon them, and mowed down their ranks until they were compelled to retreat in confusion. The Americans lost nearly 400 men in killed and wounded, and missing. The courage of brave men was never more severely tested. The party that sought a retreat at the commencement of the action, were closely pursued, surrounded and literally cut to pieces by the savages. Not one escaped the scalping knife!

On the 30th of January, Gen. Harrison despatched Capt. Lamo, Doctor M'Keenhan and a Frenchman with a flag of truce to Malden. They encamped the first night near the rapids, and hoisted the white flag; but this was not respected. The Indians fired upon them while asleep, killed Lamo, wounded Doctor M'Keenhan, and took him and the Frenchman prisoners.

Gen. Harrison received information that a large body of Indians were collected on Presque Isle, near the Miami, on the ninth February proceeded with a detachment to attack them. The enemy fled on the approach of the troops, which pursued them almost to the river Raisin, but without being enabled to overtake them. Such was their desire to come up with the foe that they marched 60 miles in 24 hours.

The hostile Indians continued to make inroads into the settlements, and committed many murders. An event took place, however, that served in some measure to check the audacity of the Indians. As Col. Ball, with a small squadron, was descending the Sandusky, the foremost of his party were fired upon by a band of 18 or 20 Indians, who had placed themselves in ambush for the purpose of intercepting the mail carrier. The Colonel instantly charged upon them, and drove them from their hiding place. The ground was favourable for cavalry, and the savages finding neither mercy nor the possibility of escape, whooped and shouted horribly, and fought desperately till they were all to a man cut to pieces. Col. Ball was twice dismounted, and opposed in personal contest to an Indian of gigantic stature. It was a desperate and doubtful struggle; life was at stake; both exerted to the utmost. An officer rode up and rescued the Colonel, by shooting the Indian through the head. Not an Indian after this ventured to cross the Sandusky in quest of plunder.

On the first day of August, Gen. Procter appeared with 500 regulars and about 800 Indians of the most ferocious kind, before fort Stephenson, 20 miles

above the mouth of the river Sandusky. There were not more than 133 effective men in the garrison, and the works covered one acre of ground. The object of the enemy was to make such a disposition of his forces as to prevent the escape of the garrison, provided they should attempt it. A messenger was then sent to demand the surrender of the fort. He was met by Ensign Shipp, to whom the messenger observed that General Proctor had a considerable body of regular troops, and a great many Indians, whom it was impossible to controul, and if the fort was taken by force, he must expect that the mildest instruments made use of would be the tomahawk and scalping knife! Shipp replied, that it was the commander's intention to defend the garrison or be buried in it, and that they might do their worst. The messenger, startled at the reply of Shipp, again addressed him: "You are a fine young man, I pity your situation, for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful slaughter which must inevitably follow resistance!" The gallant Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately seized by a frightful looking savage, who attempted to wrest his sword from him, but the Ensign was fortunately too quick for him, and buried the blade to the hilt in his body, and succeeded in reaching the fort in safety. The attack now commenced. About 4 P. M. all the enemy's guns were concentrated against the north-western angle of the fort, for the purpose of making a breach. To counteract the effect of their fire, the commander caused that point to be strengthened by means of bags of flour, sand and other materials, in such manner that the balls of the enemy did but little injury. But the enemy supposed that their fire had sufficiently shattered the pickets, advanced to the number of 600 to storm the place, the Indians shouting in their usual manner. As soon as the ditch was pretty well filled with the copper-coloured assailants, the commander of the fort ordered a six pounder, which had been masked in the block-house, to be

discharged. It had been loaded with a double charge of musket balls and slugs. The piece completely raked the ditch from end to end. The yell of the savages was at this instant horrible. The first fire levelled the one half in death; the second and third either killed or wounded all except eleven, who were covered by the dead bodies. The Americans had but one killed and seven slightly wounded. Early the ensuing morning the few regulars and Indians that survived, retreated down the river, abandoning all their baggage.

While Procter was investing fort Stephenson, Tecumseh, with a band of 2000 warriors and British troops, approached fort Meigs, but was soon driven therefrom.

It was the general opinion of the inhabitants that there were 1500 Indian warriors under Marpot and Split-Log (Indian chiefs) lurking in the woods between the rivers Rouge and Huron of Lake St. Clair.

On the 2d October arrangements were made for pursuing the retreating enemy up the Thames. The army was put in motion on the morning of the 4th. Gen. Harrison accompanied Col. Johnson, and was followed by Gov. Shelby with the infantry. Having passed the ground where the enemy had encamped the night before, the General directed the advance of Col. Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march, for the purpose of ascertaining the distance of the enemy.

The troops had now advanced within three miles of the Moravian town, and within one mile of the enemy. Across a narrow strip of land near an Indian village, the enemy were drawn up in a line of battle, to prevent the advance of the American troops. The British troops amounted to 600; the Indians to more than 1200. About 150 regulars, under Col. Ball, were ordered to advance and amuse the enemy, and should a favourable opportunity present to seize his cannon. A small party of friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The regiment of Col. Johnson was drawn up in close column, with its

right a few yards distant from the road. Gen. Desha's division covered the left of Johnson's regiment. Gen. Cass and Commodore Perry volunteered as aids to Gen. Harrison.

The army advanced till the mounted men received the fire of the enemy, at the distance of about 200 yards. The charge was now beat, and in an instant 1000 cavalry were put in motion; the right, led on by Col. Johnson, broke through the enemy's line and formed in their rear. The Indians and British were appalled at so unexpected an onset. The whole was the work of a moment. Indeed, had the enemy shown the least disposition to resist, the greater part would have been put to the sword. Never was terror more strongly depicted in the countenances of men than in those of the affrighted savages!

On the left the contest was much more serious. Col. Johnson, whose regiment was there stationed, received a galling fire from the Indians, who seemed not disposed to give ground. The brave Colonel gallantly led his men into the midst of them, and was personally attacked by a chief, whom he despatched with his cutlass at the moment the former was aiming a blow at him with his tomahawk. The savages, finding the fire of the troops too warm for them, fled across the hills and attempted to seek shelter in a piece of woods on the left, where they were closely pursued by the cavalry. It was at the margin of the wood that Tecumseh stationed himself, armed with a spear, tomahawk, &c. endeavouring to rally and persuade his men to return to the attack. At this point a considerable body of Indians had collected; yet, regardless of danger, the heroic Johnson rushed into the midst of them; indeed so thick were they at this moment that they could have easily reached him with their arrows. He rode a white horse, and was pointed out by Tecumseh as an officer of rank. His horse was shot under him, and his clothes, saddle and person pierced with bullets. At the moment his horse fell, Tecumseh rushed towards him with an uplifted tomahawk, to give the fatal blow; but in this

perilous predicament his presence of mind did not forsake him. He drew a pistol from his holster and laid this distinguished warrior dead at his feet. He could do no more. The many wounds that he had received, and the loss of blood deprived him of strength to stand. He received five shots, three in the right thigh, and two in the left arm. Fortunately for him, at the moment of Tecumseh's fall, the savages gave way, which saved him from their tomahawks. No less than 6 of Col Johnson's men and 22 Indians fell within 25 yards of the spot where Tecumseh was killed. [See Frontispiece.]

The Indians continued a brisk fire from the margin of the wood until a fresh regiment was called into action to oppose them. A company of cavalry having crossed the hills and gained the rear of the savages, the route became general. The enemy fought bravely, and sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded. The death of their leader, Tecumseh, was an irreparable loss to them.

Tecumseh was the most extraordinary Indian that has ever appeared in history. He was by birth a Shawanese, and would have been a great man in any age or nation. Independent of the most consummate courage and skill as a warrior, and all the characteristic acuteness of his race, he was endowed by nature with the attributes of mind necessary for great political combinations. His acute understanding, very early in life, informed him that his countrymen had lost their importance; that they were gradually yielding to the whites, who were acquiring an imposing influence over them. Instigated by these considerations, and, perhaps, by his natural ferocity and attachment to war, he became a decided enemy to the whites, and imbibed an invincible determination (he surrendered it with his life) to regain for his country the proud independence he supposed she had lost. For a number of years he was foremost in every act of hostility committed against those he conceived the oppressors of his countrymen, and was equally re-

markable for intrepidity as skill, in many combats that took place under his banner. Aware, at length, of the extent, number and power of the United States, he became fully convinced of the futility of any single nation of red men attempting to cope with them. He formed, therefore, the grand scheme of uniting all the tribes east of the Mississippi into hostility against the United States. This was a field worthy of his great and enterprising genius. He commenced in the year 1809; and in the execution of his project he displayed an unequalled adroitness, eloquence and courage. He insinuated himself into every tribe from Michilimackinack to Georgia, and was invariably successful in his attempts to bring them over to his views. He played upon all their feelings, but principally upon their superstition, and sometimes assumed the character of a prophet, and carried with him a red stick, to which he attached certain mystical properties, and the acceptance of which was considered as the joining of his party; hence the name of Red Sticks applied to all Indians hostile to the United States. Unfortunately for Tecumseh, but happily for the United States, was it, that before his plan had become matured, before his arrangements for general hostility were perfected, before in fact he had brought into the field any of his forces, his brother made a premature attack upon the forces of the United States under the command of Gen. Harrison, in the summer of 1811, at Tippecanoe, in which he suffered a signal defeat.

This disaster marred the prospects of the gallant Tecumseh; his own soul was unshaken; but it damped the ardour of his associates; and although many continued firm in their warlike attitude, nor shrunk from a contest that had commenced with defeat, all the efforts of Tecumseh were unavailing to supply the links thus broken in his chain of operations. The war against England, declared soon after this event by the United States, opened new views to the talents of Tecumseh. His merits were duly appreciated by the

British government, and they made him a brigadier general in their service. At the head of his formidable warriors he more than once turned the scale of victory against the Americans, and laid down his life for the cause he had espoused.

The day after the battle, the American troops took possession of the Moravian town, where they found great quantities of such provision as were very acceptable to the troops. Among the trophies of the day, captured from the British, were six brass field pieces that had been surrendered by Hull on two of which was the motto: "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga!" The town was found deserted and so panic struck were some of the squaws in their flight, that they are said to have thrown their papooses into the river, to prevent their being butchered by the Americans! The Indians who inhabited this town had been very active in committing depredations upon the frontiers, massacreing the inhabitants, &c. for which reason the town was destroyed by the troops previous to their leaving it.

Soon after the return of Gen. Harrison to Detroit, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatomies, Miamies and Kickapoos, proposed a suspension of hostilities, and agreed to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans, and to strike all who were or might be enemies of the United States." They offered their women and children as hostages. Walk-in-the-water, a distinguished Chief who had taken an active part in the late engagement, waited upon the General in person to implore peace. The white flag which he bore in his hand attracted a great crowd, who were struck with admiration at the firmness with which this distinguished warrior passed through the ranks of the American troops, whom he so gallantly opposed but a few days before; yet his adverse fortune was calculated to depress his spirits and produce humility. Almost all the other chiefs had been killed or had surrendered themselves prisoners, and he was without the means of living or resisting.

CHAPTER XV.

CREEK WAR, MASSACRE AT FORT MIMS, BATTLE AT TALLUSHATCHES, TALLEGADA, &c.

The enemy, apparently disposed to enlist the savages in the war, at its commencement despatched messengers to several of the Indian tribes in the Mississippi Territory, distinguished by the names of Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws, to persuade them to take a part with them in their contest with the United States. The most friendly relations had subsisted between these tribes and the United States for many years: and the latter, dictated by a generous policy, had been successful in their endeavours to introduce among them the improvements of civilized society. But so ardent is the propensity of the Indian character for war, that many were induced to commit the most wanton and unprovoked acts of barbarity upon the Americans.

The most experienced and well disposed chiefs, aware of the evils a war with the United States must produce upon the tribes, made use of their best endeavours to suppress their acts of cruelty; but those determined on war were not disposed to listen to the dictates of discretion or wisdom, and commenced open hostilities against the United States by one of the most bloody massacres recorded in Indian history. The particulars of the bloody transaction are copied from a letter of Judge Toulman, dated September 7th, 1813.

“The dreadful catastrophe which we have been some time anticipating has at length taken place. The Indians have broken in upon us, in numbers and

fury unexampled. Our settlement is overrun, and our country, I fear, is on the eve of being depopulated. The accounts which we received led us to expect an attack about the full moon of August; and it was known at Pensacola, when the ammunition was given to the Indians who were to be the leaders of the respective parties destined to attack the different parts of our settlement. The attempt made to deprive them of their ammunition, issued by the Spaniards on the recommendation of a British general on their way from Pensacola, and in which it was said the Indians lost more than 20 men, although only one third of our people stood their ground, it is highly probable in some measure retarded their operations; and the steady succession of rain contributed to produce the same effect. Had their attempt been conducted with more judgment and supported with more vigour, there would have been an end, for a time, of Indian warfare. In consequence of the delay, our citizens began to grow careless and confident; and several families who had removed from Tensaw to fort Stoddert, returned again and fell a sacrifice to the merciless savages.

“Our whole plan of defence was erroneous. It was adopted by the citizens under an imperfect view of their danger. From the best accounts which I can obtain, I suppose that there must have been 20 forts erected on the two sides of the river between fort Stoddert and the upper settlements, a distance of about 70 miles, which in a country so thinly settled as ours, could not be maintained, even if they had been better constructed. About the 20th of August, intelligence was communicated to us by the Choctaw Indians, that in 8 or 10 days an attack would be made by distinct bodies of Creeks on Mims’ fort, in the Tensaw settlement, which is on the east side of Alabama, nearly opposite to fort Stoddert; on the forts in the forks of Tombigby and Alabama; on Easley’s fort, near the Choctaw line on the Tombigby, and finally on the fort and United States’ trading house at H. Hopkins. A very valuable officer, Major Beasley of

the Mississippi Territory volunteers, commanded at fort Mims. About a mile or two from it was another fort, at Pierce's mills; and a few miles below that place, at another mill, a small party of soldiers was also stationed. Mims, however, where were the greatest number of families and property collected, seems to have been the sole object of attack in that quarter.

"A few days before the attack, some negroes of Mr. M'Girt, who lived in that part of the Creek territory which is inhabited by half breeds, had been sent up the Alabama to his plantation for corn; three of them were taken by a party of Indians. One escaped and brought down news of the approach of the Indians. The officer gave but little credit to him; but they made some further preparation to receive the enemy. On the next day Mr. James Cornels, a half breed, and some white men, who had been out on the late battle ground, and discovered the trail of a considerable body of Indians going towards Mr. M'Girt's, came to the fort and informed the commanding officer of the discovery. Though their report did not appear to receive full credit, it occasioned great exertions; and on Saturday and Sunday considerable work was done to put the fort in a state of defence. On Sunday morning three negroes were sent out to attend the cattle, who soon returned with an account that they had seen 20 Indians. Scouts were sent out to ascertain the truth of the report. They returned and declared that they could see no signs of Indians. One of the negroes belonging to Mr. Randon was whipped for bringing what they deemed a false report. He was sent out again on Monday, and saw a body of Indians approaching; but afraid of being whipped, he did not return to Mims but to Pierce's fort; but before his story could be communicated, the attack was made. The commanding officer called upon Mr. Fletcher, who owned another of the negroes, to whip him also. He believed the boy and resisted two or three applications; but at length they had him actually brought out for the purpose, when the Indians

appeared in view of the fort. The gate was open. The Indians had to come through an open field 150 yards wide, before they could reach the fort, and yet they were within thirty steps of the fort, at 11 in the morning, before they were noticed. The sentry then gave the cry of 'Indians!' and they immediately set up a most terrible war-whoop and rushed into the gate with inconceivable rapidity, and got within it before the people of the fort had an opportunity of shutting it. This decided their fate. Major Beasely was shot through the body near the gate. He called to the men to take care of the ammunition and to retreat to the house. He went himself to a kitchen where it is supposed he must have been burnt.

"The fort was originally square. Major Beasely had it enlarged, by extending the lines of the two sides about 50 feet, and putting up a new side, into which the gate was removed. The old line of pickets stood, and the Indians, upon rushing in the gate, obtained possession of this additional part, and through the port holes of the old line of pickets, fired on the people who held the interior. On the opposite side of the fort, an offset or bastion was made round the back gate, which being open on the out side, was also taken possession of by the Indians, who with the axes that lay scattered about, immediately began to cut down the gate. There was a large body of Indians, though they probably did not exceed 400. Our people seemed to sustain the attack with undaunted spirit. They took possession of the port holes in the other lines of the fort, and fired on the Indians who remained in the field. Some of the Indians got on the block-house, at one of the corners; but after much firing upon the people they were dislodged. They succeeded, however, in setting fire to a house near the pickets, from which it was communicated to the kitchen and from thence to the main dwelling house. They attempted to do it by burning arrows, but failed. When the people in the fort saw the Indians retained full possession of the outer court, and the gate con-

tinued open, that their men fell very fast, and that their houses were in flames, they began to despond. Some determined to cut their way through the pickets and escape. Of the whole number of white men and half-breeds in the fort, it is supposed that not more than 25 or 30 escaped, and of these many were wounded. The rest and almost all the women and children fell a sacrifice either to the arms of the Indians or to the flames. The battle terminated about an hour before sun-set.

“The information was thus far, given to me by a person of character and credibility, who was present during the whole scene, and who escaped through the opening made in the pickets. The women and children took refuge in an upper story of the dwelling house; and it is said that the Indians, when the buildings were in flames, danced round them with savage delight. The helpless victims perished in the flames. It is also reported, that when the buildings were burning, and the few who remained were exposed to the fire of the enemy, they collected many of the guns of the deceased and threw both of them and the remaining stock of ammunition into the flames, to prevent their becoming subservient in the hands of the Indians, to the destruction of their fellow citizens. Surely this was an instance of determined resolution and benevolent foresight, of which there are not many examples.

“But notwithstanding the bravery of our fellow citizens, the Indians carried all before them, and murdered the armed and the helpless without discrimination. Our loss is 7 commissioned officers and about 100 non-commissioned officers and privates, of the first regiment of the Mississippi Territory volunteers. There were about 24 families of men, women and children in the fort, of whom almost all have perished, amounting to 160 souls. I reckon, however, among them about six families of half breeds, and seven Indians. There were also about 100 negroes, of whom a large proportion were killed. The half breeds have uniformly

done themselves honour, and those who survive will afford great assistance in the prosecution of the war. Some of the most respectable among them were at Pierce's fort, and are ready, with all their dexterity and all their courage, to avenge the death of their friends, and the destruction of their property. It was principally through them that we learnt that the real object of the Indians in obtaining ammunition at Pensacola, was to make immediate war on the white people, and that the idea entertained in the eastern part of the Creek Nation, that this was only a secondary and remote object, was not founded in fact, and was probably suggested for the purpose of putting us off our guard, and keeping out of sight the real intention of their revolt against the constituted authorities of their nation."

BATTLE AT TALLUSHATCHES.

On the 1st November, Gen. Jackson, receiving information that a considerable number of hostile Creeks were embodied at Tallushatches, he detached Gen. John Coffee with a number of men to attack and destroy the place, which he completely effected. The following is Gen. Coffee's official report to Gen. Jackson, of the expedition.

"Pursuant to your order of the 2d, I detached from my brigade of cavalry and mounted riflemen, 900 men and officers, and proceeded directly to the Tallushatches towns, crossed Coosey river at the Fish-Dam ford, 3 or 4 miles above this place. I arrived within one and a half miles of the town on the morning of the 3d, at which place I divided my detachment into two columns, the right composed of the cavalry commanded by Col. Allcorn, to cross over a large creek that lay between us and the towns; the left column was of the mounted riflemen under the command of Col. Cannon, with whom I marched myself. Col. Allcorn was ordered to march up on the right and encircle one half

on the town, and at the same time the left would form a half circle on the left, and unite the head of the columns in front of the town, all of which was performed as I could wish. When I arrived within half a mile of the town, the drums of the enemy began to beat, mingled with their savage yells, preparing for action. It was an hour after sun-rise when the action was brought on by Capt. Hammond and Lieut. Patterson's companies, who had gone on within the circle of alignment for the purpose of drawing out the enemy from their buildings, which had the most happy effect. As soon as Capt. Hammond exhibited his front in view of the town (which stood in woodland) and gave a few scattering shot, the enemy formed and made a violent charge on him; he gave way as they advanced, until they met our right column, which gave them a general fire and then charged: this changed the direction of the charge completely. The enemy retreated, firing, until they got around and in their buildings, where they made all the resistance that an overpowered soldiery possibly could do; they fought as long as one existed, but their destruction was very soon completed; our men rushed up to the doors of the houses, and in a few minutes killed the last warrior of them. The enemy fought with savage fury, and met death with all its horrors, without shrinking or complaining, not one asked to be spared, but fought as long as they could stand or sit. In consequence of their flying to their houses and mixing with the families, our men, in killing the males, without intention killed and wounded a few of the squaws and children, which was regretted by every officer and soldier of the detachment, but it could not be avoided.

"The number of the enemy killed was 186 that were counted, and a number of others that were killed in the weeds and not found. I think the calculation a reasonable one to say 200 of them were killed, and 84 prisoners of women and children were taken. Not

one of the warriors escaped to carry the news, a circumstance hitherto unknown.

"I lost five men killed and forty wounded, none mortally, the greater part slightly, a number with arrows; two of the men killed was with arrows; this appears to form a very principal part of the enemy's arms for warfare; every man having a bow with a bundle of arrows, which is used after the first fire with the gun, until a leisure time for loading offers.

"It is with pleasure I say that our men acted with deliberation and firmness; notwithstanding our numbers were far superior to that of the enemy, it was a circumstance to us unknown, and from the parade of the enemy, we had every reason to suppose them our equals in number, but there appeared no visible traces of alarm in any; but on the contrary, all appeared cool and determined, and no doubt when they face a foe of their own or of a superstior number, they will show the same courage as on this occasion."

BATTLE OF TALLEGADA.

Gen. Jackson receiving information on the 7th November that a party of friendly Creeks at the fort at Tallegada, were threatened with an attack from a considerable body of hostile Creeks, marched to their relief in the evening. At 4 o'clock in the morning of the 9th, he fell in with the enemy within a quarter of a mile of the fort, and after a short action succeeded in dispersing them with great slaughter.

The following is an extract from the general's official letter, giving the particulars of the battle.

"At sun-rise we came within half a mile of them, and having formed my men, I moved on in battle order. The infantry were in three lines; the militia on the left and the volunteers on the right. The cavalry formed the extreme wings; and were ordered to advance in a curve, keeping their rear connected with the advance of their infantry lines, and enclose the en-

emy in a circle. The advanced guard whom I sent forward to bring on the engagement, met the attack of the enemy with great intrepidity; and having poured upon them four or five very gallant rounds, fell back as they had been previously ordered, to the main army. The enemy pursued, and the front line was now ordered to advance and meet them; but owing to some misunderstanding, a few companies of militia, who composed a part of it, commenced a retreat. At this moment, a corps of cavalry commanded by Lieut. Dyer, which I had kept as a reserve, was ordered to dismount and fill up the vacancy occasioned by the retreat. This order was executed with a great deal of promptitude and effect.

“The militia, seeing this, speedily rallied, and the fire became general along the first line, and on that part of the wings which was contiguous. The enemy, unable to stand it, began to retreat, but were met at every turn and pursued in every direction. The right wing chased them with a most destructive fire to the mountains, a distance of about three miles; and had I not been compelled by the faux pas of the militia in the onset of the battle, to dismount my reserve, I believe not a man of them would have escaped. The victory, however, was very decisive; 290 of the enemy were left dead, and there can be no doubt but many more were killed who were not found. Wherever they ran they left behind traces of blood; and I believe that very few will return to their villages in as sound a condition as they left them. I was compelled to return to this place to protect the sick and wounded, and get my baggage. In the engagement we lost 15 killed and 15 wounded, two of whom have since died. All the officers acted with the utmost bravery, and so did all the privates, except that part of the militia who retreated at the commencement of the battle; and they hastened to atone for their error. Taking the whole together, they have realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and have fairly entitled themselves to the gratitude of their country.”

BATTLE AT HILLIBEE TOWNS.

On the 11th November a detachment of the Tennessee militia, under Gen. White, was sent against the Hillibee towns, for the purpose of punishing the hostile Creeks in that quarter. Gen. White's official letter to Major Gen. Cocke, giving a detailed account of the expedition, is as follows:

"Under your order of the 11th November, I immediately marched with the mounted infantry under the immediate command of Major Porter, and a few of the Cherokee Indians under the command of Col. Morgan, with very short rations only. We continued our march to little Oakfuskie, when we fell in with and captured five hostile Creek warriors, supposed to be spies. Finding no other Indians at that place, we burned the town, which consisted of 30 houses. We then proceeded to a town called Genalga, and burned the same, consisting of 93 houses. Thence we proceeded to Nitty Chapota, consisting of about 25 houses which I considered it most prudent not to destroy, as it might possibly be of use at some future period. Thence we marched to the Hillibee town, consisting of about 20 houses, adjoining which was Grayston's farm. Previous to our arrival at that place, I was advised that a part of the hostile Creeks were assembled there. Having marched within six or seven miles of it on the 17th, I dismounted a part of the force under my command, and sent them under the command of Col. Burch, with the Cherokees under the command of Col. Morgan in advance, to surround the town in the night, and make the attack at daylight on the 18th. Owing to the darkness of the night, the town was not reached until after daylight; but so complete was the surprise, that we succeeded in surrounding the town, and killing and capturing almost, if not entirely, the whole of the hostile Creeks assembled there, consisting of about 310; of which number about 60 warriors were killed on the spot, and the remainder made prisoners. Before the close

of the engagement my whole force was up and ready for action, had it become necessary; but owing to the want of knowledge on the part of the Indians, of our approach, they were entirely killed and taken before they could prepare for any effectual defence. We lost not one drop of blood in accomplishing this enterprise. We destroyed this village, and in obedience to your orders, commenced our march for this post, which we were unable to reach until yesterday. I estimate the distance from this to Grayston's farm, at about 100 miles. The ground over which we travelled is so rough and hilly as to render a passage very difficult. Many defiles it was impossible to pass in safety, without the greatest precaution. For a part of the time the weather was so very wet, being encumbered with prisoners, and the troops and their horses having to subsist in a very great degree upon such supplies as we could procure in the nation, rendered our march more tardy than it otherwise would have been.

"The troops under my command have visited the heart of that section of the Creek nation where the Red Sticks were first distributed.

"In justice to this gallant band, I am proud to state, that the whole of the officers and men under the command of Col. Burch performed their duty cheerfully and without complaint; that from the cool, orderly and prompt manner in which Major Porter and the cavalry under his command, formed and conducted themselves in every case of alarm, I had the highest confidence in them. Col. Morgan and the Cherokees under his command, gave undeniable evidence that they merit the employ of their government. In short, the whole detachment under my command conducted in such a manner as to enable me to assure you that they are capable of performing any thing to which the same number of men are equal.

"It gives me pleasure to add, that Mr. M'Corry, who acted as my aid in this expedition, rendered services that to me were indispensable, to his country very useful, and to himself highly honourable."

CHAPTER XVI.

CREEK WAR CONTINUED, BATTLE AT ANTOSSE, ATTACK UPON CAMP DEFIANCE, &c.

THE Georgia militia under Gen. Floyd, on the 29th November succeeded in defeating a large body of hostile Creeks at Antosse. The following is Gen. Floyd's official letter to Gen. Pinckney, detailing the particulars of the battle.

"Having received information that numbers of the hostile Indians were assembled at Antosse, a town on the northern bank of the Tallapoosa, about 18 miles from the hickory ground, and 20 above the junction of that river with the Coosa, I proceeded to it with 950 of the Georgia militia, accompanied by between 3 and 400 friendly Indians. Having encamped within 9 or 10 miles of the point of destination the preceding evening, we resumed the march a few minutes before one, on the morning of the 29th, and at half past six were formed for action in front of the town.

"Booth's battalion composed the right column, and marched from its centre. Watson's battalion composed the left, and marched from its right; Adams' rifle company, and Merriwether's, under Lieut. Hendon, were on the flanks; Capt. Thomas' artillery marched in front of the right column in the road.

"It was my intention to have completely surrounded the enemy, by applying the right wing of my force on Canlabee creek, at the mouth of which I was informed the town stood, and resting the left on the bank below the town; but to our surprise, as

day dawned we perceived a second town, about 500 yards below that which we had first viewed, and were preparing to attack. The plan was immediately changed; three companies of infantry on the left, were wheeled to the left, into echelon, and were advanced to the low town, accompanied by Merriwether's rifle company, and two troops of light dragoons under the command of Captains Irwin and Steel.

“The residue of the force approached the upper town, and the battle soon became general. The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with the desperate bravery of real fanatics. The well directed fire, however, of the artillery, added to the charge of the bayonet, soon forced them to take refuge in the out-houses, thickets and copses in the rear of the town; many, it is believed, concealed themselves in caves, previously formed for the purpose of secure retreat, in the high bluff of the river which was thickly covered with reed and brushwood. The Indians of the friendly party, who accompanied us on the expedition, were divided into four companies, and placed under the command of leaders of their own selection. They were, by engagement entered into the day previous, to have crossed the river above the town, and been posted on the opposite shore during the action, for the purpose of firing upon such of the enemy as might attempt to escape, or keep in check any reinforcement which might probably be thrown in from the neighbouring towns; but owing to the difficulty of the ford, the coldness of the weather, and the lateness of the hour, this arrangement failed, and their leaders were directed to cross Canlebee creek and occupy that flank, to prevent escapes from the Tallisee town. Some time after the action commenced, our red friends thronged in disorder in the rear of our lines. The Cowetaws, under M'Intosh, and the Tookabatchians, under Mad-Dog's-Son, fell into our flanks, and fought with an intrepidity worthy of any troops.

At nine o'clock the enemy were completely driven from the plain, and the houses of both towns wrapped in flames. As we were then 60 miles from any depot of provisions, and our five days rations pretty much reduced, in the heart of the enemy's country, which in a few months could have poured from its numerous towns hosts of its fiercest warriors; as soon as the dead and wounded were disposed of, I ordered the place to be abandoned, and the troops to commence their march to Ghatahouche.

"It is difficult to determine the strength of the enemy, but from the information of some of the chiefs, which it is said can be relied on, there were assembled at Antosse, warriors from eight towns for its defence, it being their beloved ground, on which they proclaimed no white man could approach without inevitable destruction. It is difficult to give a precise account of the loss of the enemy; but from the number which were lying scattered over the field, together with those destroyed in the towns, and the many slain on the banks of the river, which respectable officers affirm they saw lying in heaps at the water's edge, where they had been precipitated by their surviving friends; their loss in killed, independent of their wounded, must have been at least 200, among whom are the Antosse and Tallisee kings; and from the circumstances of their making no efforts to molest our return, probably greater. The number of buildings burnt, some of a superior order for the dwelling of savages, and filled with valuable articles, is supposed to be 400.

"Adjutant General Newman rendered important services during the action, by his cool and deliberate courage. My aid, Maj. Crawford, discharged with promptitude the duties of a brave and meritorious officer. Maj. Pace, who acted as field aid, also distinguished himself. Both these gentlemen had their horses shot under them, and the latter lost his. Dr. Williamson, hospital Surgeon, and Dr. Clopton, were

prompt and attentive in discharge of their duty towards the wounded during the action.

“Maj. Freeman, at the head of Irwin’s troop of cavalry and part of Steele’s, made a furious and successful charge upon a large body of Indians, sabred several, and completely defeated them. Capt. Thomas and his company, Capt. Adams and Lieut. Hendon’s rifle companies killed a great many Indians, and deserve particular praise. Capt. Barton’s company were in the hottest of the battle, and fought like soldiers. Capts. Myrick, Wells, Little, King, Broadnax, Cleveland, Cunningham and Lee, with their companies, distinguished themselves. Brigade Major Sharkleford was of great service in bringing the troops into action, and Adjutant Broadnax and Major Montgomery, who acted as assistant adjutants, showed great courage. Major Booth used his best endeavour in bringing his battalion to action, and Major Watson’s battalion acted with considerable spirit. Irwin, Patterson and Steele’s troop of cavalry, whenever an opportunity presented, charged with success. Lieut. Strong had his horse shot and narrowly escaped, and quarter master Tennal displayed the greatest heroism, and miraculously escaped, though badly wounded, after having his horse shot from under him. The topographical engineer was vigilant in his endeavours to render service.

“The troops deserve the highest praise for their fortitude in enduring hunger, cold and fatigue without a murmur, having marched 120 miles in seven days.

“The friendly Indians lost several killed and wounded, the number not exactly known.”

ATTACK ON CAMP DEFIANCE.

Gen. Floyd was attacked by a large body of hostile Creeks in his encampment, 48 miles west of Colahoochie, on the 27th January; but succeeded in repelling them after a very bloody conflict. The particulars are contained in the following letter of the

General to Major Gen. Pinckney, dated on the day of the engagement.

This morning, at 20 minutes past 5 o'clock, a very large body of hostile Indians made a desperate attack upon the army under my command. They stole upon our sentinels, fired on them, and with great ferocity rushed upon our line. In twenty minutes the action became general, and our front, right and left flanks were closely pressed, but the brave and gallant conduct of the field and line officers, and the firmness of our men, repelled them at every point.

"The steady firmness and incessant fire of Capt. Thomas' artillery, and Capt. Adams' riflemen, preserved our front lines. Both of these companies suffered greatly. The enemy rushed within 30 yards of the artillery, and Capt. Broadnax, who commanded one of the piquet guards, maintained his post with great bravery, until the enemy gained his rear, and then cut his way through them to the army. On this occasion, Timpoche Barnard, a half-breed, at the head of the Uchies, distinguished himself, and contributed to the retreat of the piquet guard: the other friendly Indians took refuge within our lines, and remained inactive, with the exception of a few who joined our ranks. As soon as it became light enough to distinguish objects, I ordered Majors Watson and Freeman's battalions to wheel at right angles with Majors Booth and Cleveland's battalions, which formed the right wing, to prepare for the charge. Capt. Duke Hamilton's cavalry, which had reached me but the day before, was ordered to form in the rear of the right wing, to act as circumstances should dictate. The order for the charge was promptly obeyed, and the enemy fled in every direction before the bayonet. The signal was given for the charge of the cavalry, who pursued and sabred 15 of the enemy, and left 37 dead on the field. From the effusion of blood, and the number of head dresses and war clubs found in various directions, their loss must have been considerable, independent of their wounded.

“I directed the friendly Indians, with Merriwether and Ford’s rifle companies, accompanied by Captain Hamilton’s troop, to pursue them through Canlebee swamp where they were trailed by their blood, but they succeeded in overtaking but one of the wounded.

“Col. Newman received three balls in the commencement of the action, which deprived me of the services of that gallant and useful officer. The Assistant Adjutant General Hardin was indefatigable in the discharge of his duty, and rendered important services; his horse was wounded under him. The whole of the Staff were prompt, and discharged their duty with courage and fidelity. Their vigilance, and the intrepidity and firmness of the men, meet my approbation, and deserve the praise of their country.

“My aid-de-camp, in executing my orders, had his horse killed under him. Gen. Lee and Maj. Pace, who acted as additional aids, rendered me essential services, with honour to themselves, and usefulness to the cause in which they have embarked. Four waggon horses, and several others were killed, and two of the artillery horses wounded. While I deplore the loss sustained on this occasion, I have the consolation to know, that the men whom I have the honour to command have done their duty.”

EXPEDITION TO THE BEND OF THE TALLAPOOSA.

On the 14th January, Gen. Jackson having been reinforced by about 800 volunteers, commenced his march in quest of the enemy upon the Tallapoosa river. The objects and particulars of the expedition are disclosed in the following letter from Gen. Jackson to Maj. Gen. Pinckney:

“Head-Quarters, Fort Strother, Jan. 29.

“SIR—I had the honour of informing you in a letter of the 31st ult. forwarded by Mr. M’Candles (express) of an excursion I contemplated making still

further into the enemy's country, with the new raised volunteers from Tennessee. I had ordered those troops to form a junction with me on the 10th instant; but they did not arrive until the 14th. Their number, including officers, was about 800; and on the 15th, I marched them across the river, to graze their horses. On the next day, I followed with the remainder of my force, consisting of the artillery company, with one 6 pounder; one company of infantry, of 48 men; two companies of spies, commanded by Captains Gordon and Russell, of about 30 men each; and a company of volunteer officers, headed by Gen. Coffee, who had been abandoned by his men, and who still remained in the field, awaiting the order of the government; making my force, exclusive of Indians, 930.

“The motives which influenced me to penetrate still farther into the enemy's country, with this force, were many, and urgent. The term of service of the new raised volunteers, was short, and a considerable part of it was expired; they were expensive to the government, and were full of ardour to meet the enemy. The ill effects of keeping soldiers of this description long stationary and idle, I had been made to feel but too sensibly already. Other causes concurred to make such a movement not only justifiable, but absolutely necessary. I had received a letter from Capt. M'Alpin, of the 5th inst. who commanded at fort Armstrong, in the absence of Col. Snodgrass, informing me that 14 or 15 towns of the enemy, situated on the Tallapoosa, were about uniting their forces and attacking that place, which had been left in a very feeble state of defence. You had in your letter of the 24th ult., informed me that Gen. Floyd was about to make a movement to the Tallapoosa, near its junction with the Coose; and in the same letter had recommended temporary excursions against such of the enemy's towns or settlements, as might be within striking distance, as well to prevent my men from be-

coming discontented, as to harrass the enemy. Your ideas corresponded exactly with my own, and I was happy in the opportunity of keeping my men engaged, distressing the enemy, and at the same time making a diversion to facilitate the operations of Gen. Floyd.

“Determined by these, and other considerations, I took up the line of march on the 17th inst. and on the night of the 18th encamped at Tallegada fort, where I was joined by between two and three hundred friendly Indians; sixty five of whom, were Cherokees, the balance Creeks. Here I received your letter of the 9th inst. stating that Gen. Floyd was expected to make a movement from Cowetau the next day, and that in 18 days thereafter he would establish a firm position at Tuckabotchee; and also a letter from Col. Snodgrass, who had returned to fort Armstrong, informing me that an attack was intended soon to be made by 900 of the enemy. If I could have hesitated before, I could now hesitate no longer. I resolved to lose no time in meeting this force, which was understood to have been collected from New Yorcau, Oakfuskee and Ufauley towns, and were concentrated in the bend of the Tallapoosa, near the mouth of the creek called Emuckfau, on an island below New Yorcau.

“On the morning of the 29th, your letter of the 10th instant, forwarded by Mr. M’Candles, reached me at the Hillibee village, situated about 12 miles from Emuckfau. Here I began to perceive very plainly how little knowledge my spies had of the country, of the situation of the enemy, or of the distance I was from them. The insubordination of the new troops, and the want of skill in most of their officers, also become more and more apparent. But their ardour to meet the enemy was not diminished; and I had a sure reliance upon the guards, a company of old volunteer officers, and upon the spies, in all 125. My wishes and duty remained united, and I was deter-

mined to effect, if possible, the objects for which the excursion had been principally undertaken.

“On the morning of the 21st, I marched from Enotachopee, as direct as I could for the bend of the Talapoosa, and about 2 o’clock, P. M. my spies having discovered two of the enemy, endeavoured to catch them, but failed. In the evening, I fell in upon a large trail, which led to a new road, much beaten and lately travelled. Knowing that I must have arrived within the neighbourhood of a strong force, and it being late in the day, I determined to encamp, and reconnoitre the country in the night. I chose the best site the country would admit, encamped in a hollow square, sent out my spies and pickets, doubled my sentinels, and made the necessary arrangements before dark, for a night attack. About 10 o’clock at night, one of the pickets fired at three of the enemy, and killed one, but he was not found until the next day. At 11 o’clock, the spies whom I had sent out returned with the information, that there was a large encampment of Indians at the distance of about three miles, who, from their whooping and dancing, seemed to be apprised of our approach. One of these spies, an Indian in whom I had great confidence, assured me that they were carrying off their women and children, and that the warriors would either make their escape, or attack me before day. Being prepared at all points, nothing remained to be done but await their approach, if they meditated an attack, or to be in readiness, if they did not, to pursue and attack them at day-light. While we were in this state of readiness, the enemy, about 6 o’clock in the morning, commenced a vigorous attack on my left flank, which was vigorously met. The action continued to rage on my left flank, and on the left of my rear for about half an hour. The brave Gen. Coffee, with Col. Sittler, the Adjutant General, and Col. Carroll, the Inspector General, at the moment the firing commenced, mounted their horses, and repaired to the line, encouraging and animating the men to the performance of their duty. As soon as it be-

come light enough to pursue, the left wing having sustained the heat of the action, and being somewhat weakened, was reinforced by Capt. Ferrill's company of infantry, and was ordered and led on the charge by Gen. Coffee, who was well supported by Col. Higgins and the Inspector General, and by all the officers and privates who composed that line. The enemy was completely routed at every point, and the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with great slaughter.

The chase being over, I immediately detached Gen. Coffee with 400 men and all the Indian force, to burn their encampment; but it was said by some to be fortified. I ordered him, in that event, not to attack it, until the artillery could be sent forward to reduce it. On viewing the encampment and its strength, the General thought it most prudent to return to my encampment, and guard the artillery thither. The wisdom of this step was soon discovered. In half an hour after his return to camp, a considerable force of the enemy made its appearance on my right flank, and commenced a brisk fire on a party of men who had been on a picket guard the night before, and were then in search of the Indians they had fired upon, some of whom they believed had been killed. Gen. Coffee immediately requested me to let him take 200 men and turn their left flank, which I accordingly ordered; but through some mistake, which I did not then observe, not more than 54 followed him, among whom were the old volunteer officers. With these, however, he immediately commenced an attack on the left flank of the enemy; at which time I ordered 200 of the friendly Indians to fall in upon the right flank of the enemy, and co-operate with the General. This order was promptly obeyed, and in the moment of its execution what I expected was realized. The enemy had intended to attack on the right, as a feint, and expecting me to direct all my attention thither, meant to attack me again with their main force on the left flank, which they hoped to find weakened and in dis-

order ; but they were disappointed. I had ordered the left flank to remain firm to its place, and the moment the alarm gun was heard in that quarter, I repaired thither, and ordered Capt. Ferrill, with part of my reserve, to support it. The whole line met the approach of the enemy with astonishing intrepidity, and having given a few fires, they forthwith charged with great vigour. The effect was immediate and inevitable. The enemy fled with precipitation, and were pursued to a considerable distance by the left flank and the friendly Indians, with a galling and destructive fire. Col. Carroll, who ordered the charge, led on the pursuit, and Col. Higgins and his regiment again distinguished themselves.

“In the mean time, Gen. Coffee was contending with a superior force of the enemy. The Indians whom I had ordered to his support, and who had set out for the purpose, hearing the firing on the left, had returned to that quarter, and when the enemy were routed there, entered into the chase. That being now over, I forthwith ordered Jim Fife, who was one of the principal commanders of the friendly Creeks, with 100 of his warriors, to execute my first order. As soon as he reached Gen. Coffee, the charge was made and the enemy routed. They were pursued about three miles, and 45 of them slain, who were found. Gen. Coffee was wounded in the body, and his Aide-de-camp, A. Donaldson, killed, together with three others. Having brought in and buried the dead, and dressed the wounded, I ordered my camp to be fortified, to be the better prepared to repel any attack which might be made in the night ; determining to commence a return march to fort Strother the following day. Many causes concurred to make such a measure necessary ; as I had not set out prepared, or with a view to make a permanent establishment, I considered it worse than useless to advance and destroy an empty encampment.

“I had indeed hoped to have met the enemy there, but having met and beat them a little sooner, I did

not think it necessary or prudent to proceed any further; not necessary, because I had accomplished all I could expect to effect by marching to their encampment; and because if it was necessary to contend with and weaken their forces still farther, this object would inspire them to pursue me; not prudent, because of the number of my wounded; of the reinforcement from below, which the enemy might be expected to receive; of the starving condition of my horses, they having had neither corn nor cane for two days and nights; of the scarcity of supplies for my men, the Indians who had joined me at Tallegada having drawn none, and being wholly destitute; and because, if the enemy pursued me as it was likely they would, the diversion in favour of General Floyd would be the more complete and effectual. Influenced by these considerations, I commenced my return march at half past ten on the twenty-third, and was fortunate enough to reach Enotachopco before night, having passed without interruption a dangerous defile, occasioned by a hurricane. I again fortified my camp, and having another defile to pass in the morning, across a deep creek, and between two hills, which I had viewed with attention as I passed on, and where I expected I might be attacked, I determined to pass it at another point, and gave directions to my guide and fatigue men accordingly. My expectation of an attack in the morning was increased by the signs of the night, and with it my caution. Before I removed the wounded from the interior of my camp, I had my front and rear guards formed, as well as my right and left columns, and moved off my centre in regular order, leading down a handsome ridge to Enotachopco creek, at a point where it was clear of reed, except immediately on its margin. I had previously issued a general order, pointing out the manner in which the men should be formed in the event of an attack on the front or rear, or on the flanks, and had particularly cautioned the officers to halt and form accordingly, the instant the word should be given.

“The front guard had passed with part of the flank columns, the wounded were over, and the artillery in the act of entering the creek, when an alarm gun was heard in the rear. I heard it without surprise, and even with pleasure, calculating with the utmost confidence on the firmness of my troops, from the manner in which I had seen them act on the twenty-second. I had placed Colonel Carroll at the head of the centre column of the rear guard; its right column was commanded by Col. Stump. Having chosen the ground, I expected there to have entirely cut off the enemy, by wheeling the right and left columns on their pivots, re-crossing the creek above and below, and falling in upon their flanks and rear. But to my astonishment and mortification, when the word was given by Colonel Carroll to halt and form, and a few guns had been fired, I beheld the right and left columns of the rear guard precipitately give way. This shameful retreat was disastrous in the extreme; it drew along with it the greater part of the centre column, leaving not more than 25 men, who being formed by Colonel Carroll, maintained their ground as long as it was possible to maintain it, and it brought consternation and confusion into the centre of the army, a consternation which was not easily removed, and a confusion which could not soon be restored to order. There was then left to repulse the enemy, the few who remained of the rear guard, the artillery company, and Captain Russell’s company of spies. They, however, realized and exceeded my highest expectations. Lieut. Armstrong, who commanded the artillery company in the absence of Capt. Deadrick, (confined by sickness) ordered them to form and advance to the top of the hill, while he and a few others dragged up the 6 pounder. Never was more bravery displayed than on this occasion. Amid the most galling fire from the enemy, more than ten times their number, they ascended the hill and maintained their position until their piece was hauled up, when, having levelled it, they poured upon

the enemy a fire of grape; reloaded and fired again, charged and repulsed them.

“The most deliberate bravery was displayed by Constantine Perkins and Craven Jackson, of the artillery, acting as gunners. In the hurry of the moment, in separating the gun from the limbers, the rammer and the picker of the cannon were left tied to the limber. No sooner was this discovered, than Jackson, amidst the fire of the enemy, pulled out the ramrod of his musket and used it as a picker, primed with a cartridge and fired the cannon. Perkins, having pulled off his bayonet, used his musket as a rammer, drove down the cartridge; and Jackson, using his former plan, again discharged her. The brave Lieutenant Armstrong, just after the first fire of the cannon, with Capt. Hamilton, of East Tennessee, Bradford and M’Govock, all fell, the lieutenant exclaiming as he lay, ‘my brave fellows, some of you may fall, but you must save the cannon.’ About this time, a number crossed the creek and entered into the chase. The brave Capt. Gordon, of the spies, who had rushed from the front, endeavoured to turn the left flank of the enemy, in which he partially succeeded, and Col. Carroll, Col. Higgins, and Captains Elliot and Pipkins, pursued the enemy for more than two miles, who fled in consternation, throwing away their packs, and leaving 26 of their warriors dead on the field. This last defeat was decisive, and we were no more disturbed by their yells. I should do injustice to my feelings, if I omitted to mention the venerable Judge Cocke, at the age of 65, entered into the engagement, continued the pursuit of the enemy with youthful ardour, and saved the life of a fellow soldier, by killing his savage antagonist.

“Our loss in this affair, was 18 killed and wounded; among the former, was the brave Capt. Hamilton, from East Tennessee, who had, with his aged father, and two others of his company, after the period of his engagement had expired, volunteered his services for

for this excursion, and attached himself to the artillery company. No man ever fought more bravely, or died more gloriously; and by his side fell with equal bravery and glory, Bird Evans, of the same company. Capt. Quarles, who commanded the centre column of the rear guard, preferring death to the abandonment of his post, having taken a firm stand, in which he was followed by 25 of his men, received a wound in his head, of which he has since died.

"In these several engagements, our loss was 20 killed and 75 wounded, 4 of whom have since died. The loss of the enemy cannot be accurately ascertained: 180 of their warriors were found dead; but this must fall considerably short of the number really killed. Their wounded can only be guessed at.

"Had it not been for the unfortunate retreat of the rear guard, in the affair of the 24th inst. I think I could safely have said, that no army of militia ever acted with more cool and deliberate bravery; undisciplined and unexperienced as they were, their conduct in the several engagements of the 22d, could not have been surpassed by regulars. No men ever met the approach of an enemy with more intrepidity, or repulsed them with more energy. On the 24th, after the retreat of the rear guard, they seemed to have lost all their collectedness, and were more difficult to be restored to order than any troops I have ever seen. But this was no doubt in a great measure, or altogether owing to that very retreat, and ought rather to be ascribed to the want of conduct in many of their officers, than to any cowardice in the men, who, on every occasion, have manifested a willingness to perform their duty as far as they knew it.

"All the effects which were designed to be produced by this excursion, it is believed have been accomplished. If an attack was meditated against fort Armstrong, that has been prevented. If Gen. Floyd is operating on the east side of the Tallapoosa, as I suppose him to be, a most fortunate diversion has been made in his favour. The number of the enemy has

been diminished, and the confidence they may have derived from the delays I have been made to experience, has been destroyed. Discontent has been kept out of my army, while the troops who would have been exposed to it, have been beneficially employed. The enemy's country has been explored, and a road cut to the point where their force will probably be concentrated, when they shall be driven from the country below. But in a report of this kind, and to you who will immediately perceive them, it is not necessary to state the happy consequences which may be expected to result from this excursion. Unless I am greatly mistaken, it will be found to have hastened the termination of the Creek war, more than any measure I could have taken with the troops under my command."

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCLUSION OF THE CREEK WAR, BRILLIANT VICTORY AT THE BEND OF THE TALLAPOOSA, &c.

GENERAL JACKSON, determined on the extermination of the Creeks for their atrocious conduct, on the 10th of March, 1814, penetrated as far as the bend of the Tallapoosa, where a most decisive victory was obtained, and the destruction of the nation nearly accomplished. The following is Gen. Jackson's official account of the brilliant achievement, in a letter to his Excellency Governor Blount:

"Fort Williams, March 31, 1814.

"SIR—I have just returned from the expedition which I advised you in my last I was about to make to the Tallapoosa; and hasten to acquaint you with the good fortune which attended it.

"I took up the line of march from this place on the morning of the 21st inst. and having opened a passage of $52\frac{1}{2}$ miles over the ridges which divide the waters of the two rivers, I reached the bend of the Tallapoosa, three miles beyond where I had the engagement of the 22d of January, and at the southern extremity of New Youka, on the morning of the 27th. This bend resembles in a curvature that of a horse-shoe, and is thence called by that name among the whites. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence, and barbarians have never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of the bend which leads into it from the north, they had erected a breast-work of the greatest compactness and strength, eight feet high, and prepared with double port-holes, very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projection of it, without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy, who lay in perfect security behind it. The area of

this peninsula, thus bounded by the breast-work, includes, I conjecture, eighty or an hundred acres.

“In this bend, the warriors from Ockfuska, Ooakehagu, New Youca, Hillabea, the Fish Ponds, and Eufatua towns, apprised of our approach, had collected their strength. The exact number cannot be ascertained; but it is said by the prisoners we have taken, to have been a thousand. It is certain they were very numerous, and that relying with the utmost confidence upon their strength, their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they calculated on repulsing us with great ease.

“Early on the morning of the 27th, having encamped the preceding night at the distance of five miles from them, I detailed Gen. Coffee with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, to cross the river at a ford about three miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the remainder of the forces I proceeded along the point of land which leads to the front of their breast work; and at half past 10 o'clock A. M. I had planted my artillery on a small eminence, distant from its nearest point about 83 yards; and from its farthest about 250; from whence I immediately opened a brisk fire upon its centre. With the musketry and rifles I kept up a galling fire wherever the enemy showed themselves behind their works, or ventured to approach them. This was continued with occasional intermissions for about two hours, when Capt. Russell's company of spies, and a party of the Cherokee force, headed by their gallant chieftain, Col. Richard Brown, and conducted by the brave Colonel Morgan, crossed over to the peninsula in canoes, and set fire to a few of their buildings there situated. They then advanced with great gallantry towards the breast-work, and commenced firing upon the enemy who lay behind it.

“Finding that this force, notwithstanding the determination that they displayed was wholly insufficient

to dislodge the enemy, and that Gen. Coffee had secured the opposite banks of the river, I now determined on taking possession of their works by storm. Never were men better disposed for such an undertaking than those by whom it was to be effected. They had entreated to be led to the charge with the most pressing importunity, and received the order which was now given, with the strongest demonstrations of joy. The effect was such as this temper of mind foretold. The regular troops, led on by their intrepid and skilful commanders, Col. Williams and Major Montgomery, were presently in possession of the nearer side of the breast-work; and the militia accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which could not have been exceeded, and has seldom been equalled by troops of any description. A few companies of Gen. Dougherty's brigade on the right, were led on with gallantry by that distinguished officer, Col. Russell; the advance guard by the Adjutant General, Col. Siller, and the left extremity of the line by Capt. Gordon, of the Spies, and Capt. M^r-Murray, of Gen. Johnson's brigade, of West Tennessee militia.

“Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest, musket to musket, through the port holes, in which many of the balls were welded to the bayonets of muskets, our troops succeeded in gaining possession of the opposite side of the works. The event could no longer be doubtful. The enemy, although many of them fought to the last, with that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were at length entirely routed and cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounds the peninsula was strewn with the slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven were found by officers of great respectability, whom I had ordered to count them; besides a great number who were thrown into the river, or killed in attempting to pass it, by Gen. Coffee's men, stationed on the opposite banks. Captain Hammonds, who with his

company of spies occupied a favourable position opposite the upper extremity of the breast-work, did great execution; and so did Lieut. Bean, who had been ordered by Gen. Coffee to take possession of a small island pointing to the lower extremity.

“Both officers and men, who had the best opportunities of judging, believe the loss of the enemy in killed, not far short of 800; and if their number was great as it is represented to have been by the prisoners, and as it is believed to have been by Col. Carroll and others, who had a fair view of them as they advanced to the breast-works, their loss must even have been more considerable; as it is quite certain that not more than twenty can have escaped. Among the dead was found their famous prophet Monahell, shot in the mouth by a grape shot, as if Heaven designed to chastise his impostures by an appropriate punishment. Two other prophets were also killed; leaving no others, as I can learn, on the Tallapoosa. I lament that two or three women and children were killed by accident. I do not know the exact number of prisoners taken, but it must exceed 300; all women and children except three.

“The battle may be said to have continued with severity for about five hours; but the firing and slaughter continued until it was suspended by the darkness of the night. The next morning it was resumed, and 16 of the enemy slain, who had concealed themselves under the banks. Our loss was 26 white men killed, and 107 wounded; Cherokees, 18 killed and 36 wounded; friendly Creeks, 5 killed and 11 wounded.

“The loss of Col. Williams’ regiment of regulars is 17 killed and 55 wounded; three of whom have since died. Among the former were Major Montgomery, Lieut. Sommerville and Lieut. Moulton, who fell in the charge which was made on the works. No men ever acted more gallantly, or fell more gloriously.

"In a few days I shall take up the line of march for the Hickory ground, and have every thing to hope from such troops.

"Enclosed I send you Gen. Coffee's original report.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient humble servant,

ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen."

Report from Gen. Coffee to Gen. Jackson, dated April 1.

"SIR—Agreeably to your order of the 27th ult. I took up the line of march at half past 6 o'clock, A. M. of the same day, with a detachment of 700 cavalry and mounted gunmen, and about 600 Indians, 500 of which were Cherokees, and the balance friendly Creeks. I crossed the Tallapoosa river at the little island ford, about three miles below the bend, in which the enemy had concentrated; and then turned up the river, bearing away from its cliffs. When within half a mile of the village, the savage yell was raised by the enemy, and I supposed they had discovered and were about to attack me. I immediately drew up my forces in line of battle in an open, hilly woodland, and in that position moved on towards the yelling of the enemy. Previous to this, I had ordered the Indians, on our approach to the bend of the river, to advance secretly and take possession of the bank of the river, and prevent the enemy from crossing on the approach of our army in their front. When within a quarter of a mile of the river, the firing of our cannon commenced, when the Indians with me immediately rushed forward with great impetuosity to the river bank. My line was halted and put in order of battle, expecting an attack on our rear from Oakfuskee village, which lay down the river, about eight miles below us. The firing of our cannon and small arms in a short time became general and heavy, which animated our Indians, and seeing about 100 of the warriors and all the squaws and children of the enemy running about among the huts of the village, which was open

to our view, they could no longer remain silent spectators, while some kept up a fire across the river, (which is about 120 yards wide) to prevent the enemy's approach to the bank. Others plunged into the water and swam the river for canoes that lay at the other shore in considerable numbers, and brought them over; in which crafts a number of them embarked, and landed on the bend with the enemy. Col. Gideon Morgan, who commanded the Cherokees; Capt. Keer and Capt. William Russell, with a part of his company of spies, were among the first that crossed the river. From the huts up the river bank, to the fortified works from which they were fighting, they pursued and continued to annoy, during the whole action. This movement of our Indian forces left the river bank unguarded, and made it necessary that I should send a party of my line to take possession of the river bank. I accordingly ordered about one third of the men to be posted around the bend of the river bank, while the balance remained in line, to protect our rear. I ordered Lieut. Bean to take possession of the island below, with 40 men, to prevent the enemy's taking refuge there, which was executed with promptitude, and which had a very happy effect. From the report of my officers, as well as from my own observation, I feel warranted in saying that from 250 to 300 of the enemy were buried under water, and were numbered with the dead that were found."

TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE CREEKS.

The brilliant and decisive victories obtained by Gen. Jackson and his brave men, over the Creeks, induced many of those who survived, to surrender and sue for peace. A few of them, however, otherwise disposed, fled toward Pensacola, before the arrival of the General at Tallapoosa. Of these few, notice will be taken in the succeeding chapter. Many of the runaway negroes, who were captured at Fort Mims,

were restored to their masters, and an unfortunate white female captive, Polly Jones, who, with her two children, had been taken prisoners by the Indians, were released and restored to their friends. The Tallapoosa and Tostahatchee kings were taken prisoners, as was Peter M'Quin, a distinguished chief, but he unfortunately afterwards made his escape. Hillin-hagee, their great prophet, fled with the fugitives towards Pensacola. Weatherford, their speaker, and who through the war had been one of the most active and enterprising chiefs, conceiving it in vain any longer to resist, and being informed that Gen. Jackson intended, if he could take him, to put him to death, he was advised by his friends, as his warriors were almost all slain, as his country was ruined, and his escape almost impracticable, to surrender himself to the General; that it was useless to attempt further resistance; and this was the only means by which his life could be saved. Weatherford determined so to do, and presented himself to Gen. Jackson at his quarters, by whom it was demanded of him who he was, and how he came there. He replied, "my name is Weatherford, one of the Chiefs of the Red Sticks. I have fought you till my warriors are all slain. If I had warriors I would fight you still; but I have none. My country is overrun, and my soldiers are fallen. Here am I in your power; do with me as you please; only recollect that I am a soldier!" The patriotic speech of this distinguished chief had its desired effect. Gen. Jackson declined to consider him even as a prisoner of war. Weatherford, although as bold and intrepid as a lion, had been many times defeated by his enemies. In 1813 a formidable body of volunteers from the Mississippi Territory, who had been raised for the express purpose of protecting the defenceless inhabitants on the frontiers, marched under the command of Gen. Claiborne, against some of the towns inhabited by the hostile Creeks on the Alabama river. A detachment of the troops under command of Col. Carson, on approaching a town called

Eecanachaca, was suddenly and vigorously attacked by the enemy. Weatherford commanded the Indians and fought with his usual bravery. He was, however, routed, and completely defeated by the detachment, before the remainder of the troops had time to arrive. The enemy threw away their arms and fled in every direction. Thirty were killed and double that number probably wounded. Col. Carson lost but one killed, and five wounded. A pursuit was ordered, but with very little success. A large quantity of provisions and other valuable property was found in their town, which the Indians in their precipitate flight were obliged to leave behind, and which with their houses, (200 in number) were destroyed. After the commencement of hostilities, the town was rebuilt, and was established as a place of security for the Creeks of several of the adjacent villages. It was Weatherford's place of residence. In this house was found a letter from the Governor of Pensacola to the Creeks, expressing the friendship which the Spaniards entertained for them, and the hostility of the former towards the Americans.

Gen. Jackson, after having made known to the surviving Creeks, the terms upon which he was authorized to make peace, in the latter part of April withdrew his forces from the Creek country. The terms offered them were; That the United States were to retain as much of the conquered territory as would indemnify them for the expenses of the war, and as a retribution for the injuries sustained by its citizens, and such of the Creeks as had remained on friendly terms with them during the war. The United States were to establish whatever military posts and trading houses they should think proper, and to have the free navigation of the rivers and water courses throughout the Creek country. The Creeks were to surrender their prophets, and other chiefs who remained or who should thereafter prove hostile to the interest and welfare of the States. The Tallisee king, of whom we have made frequent mention and who was

supposed to have been killed in one of Gen. Floyd's engagements with the Creeks, surrendered himself a prisoner to the Americans. He was upwards of a hundred years of age, with a head as white as snow, and had been regarded by the enemy as a very great prophet. The friendly Creeks viewed him as their most inveterate enemy, and although nearly bent double with age, they were anxious to put him to death, and would have done so had it not been for the interposition of the American officers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SEMINOLE WAR, PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE Creek war happily terminating in the spring of 1814, and a treaty of peace having been mutually concluded upon between the surviving chiefs of that nation and Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, but little opposition was then apprehended from the fugitives who had fled towards Pensacola, and who remained hostile to the interest of the Americans. But, contrary to the expectations of our government, it was soon after discovered that these Indians had sought refuge among the different savage tribes living within and on the borders of the Floridas, denominated Seminole Indians, who it was suspected cherished feelings of hostility to the United States. This fact having been ascertained, the executive department of the government deemed it necessary, for the security of the frontier, to establish a line of forts near the southern boundary of the United States, and to occupy those fortifications with portions of the regular forces, and by this means peace was maintained with the Indians until the spring or summer of 1817, when the regular forces were withdrawn from the posts on the Georgia frontier, and concentrated at fort Montgomery, on the Alabama river, a considerable distance west of the Georgia line. But it seems that about this time a border warfare was commenced between the Seminole Indians and the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. Many horrid barbarities are said to have been perpetrated by the former; some of which it may not be improper here to mention. The house of a Mr. Garrett, residing near the boundary of Wayne county, was attacked by a party of Indians during his absence. They shot Mrs. Garrett in two places, and then despatched her by stabbing and scalping. Her

MULT FATHERS introducing her Father to spare the life of an American Captive.





two children, one about three years and the other two months old were also murdered, and the eldest scalped. The house was then plundered of every article of value, and set on fire ! A boat soon after ascending the Alabama river, containing thirty men, seven women and four small children, was captured by the Indians. Six of the men escaped, one woman taken captive and the remainder inhumanly butchered. The children were taken by the leg and their brains dashed out against the boat ! !

Duncan M'Krimmon (a resident of Milledgeville, a Georgia militia man, stationed at fort Gadsden) being out one morning on a fishing excursion, in attempting to return, missed his way, and was several days lost in the surrounding wilderness. After wandering about in various directions he was espied and captured by a party of hostile Indians, headed by the well known prophet Francis. The Indians having obtained the satisfaction they wanted respecting the determination of government, the position of the American army, &c. they began to prepare for the intended sacrifice. M'Krimmon was bound to a stake, and the ruthless savages having shaved his head and reduced his body to a state of nudity, formed themselves into a circle and danced round him some hours, yelling most horribly. The youngest daughter of the prophet, about fifteen years of age, remained sad and silent the whole time. She participated not in the general joy, but was evidently, even to the affrighted prisoner, much pained at the savage scene she was compelled to witness. When the burning torches were about to be applied to the faggots which encompassed the prisoner, and the fatal tomahawk was raised to terminate forever his mortal existence, Milly Francis, (for that was her name) like an angel of mercy, placed herself between it and death, resolutely bidding the astonished executioner, if he thirsted for human blood, to shed hers ; being determined, she said, not to survive the prisoner's death. A momentary pause was produced by this unexpected occurrence, and she took advant-

age of the circumstance to implore upon her knees the pity of the ferocious father, who finally yielded to her wishes ; with the intention, however, it is suspected, of murdering them both, if he could not sell M' Krimmon to the Spaniards; which was luckily effected a few days after at St. Marks, for seven gallons and a half of rum. As long as M' Krimmon remained a prisoner his benefactress continued to show him acts of kindness. The fortune of war has since placed her, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice, in the power of the white people, being compelled, with a number of others of her tribe who were in a starving condition, to surrender themselves prisoners. As soon as this fact was known to M' Krimmon, in manifestation of a due sense of the obligation which he owed to the woman who saved his life, at the hazard of her own, he sought her to alleviate her misfortune, and to offer her marriage ; but Milly would not consent to become his wife as a consideration of having saved his life, declaring that she did no more than her duty, and that her intercessions were the same as they would ever have been on similar occasions.

But to return. In these frequent outrages committed upon the frontiers, it was somewhat difficult to determine who were the first aggressors, or on whom the greatest injuries were inflicted. Gen. Gaines, however, demanded a surrender of the Indians, who had committed depredations on the frontier of Georgia. With this demand they refused to comply, alleging that the first and the greatest aggressions had been made by the white men.

In consequence of this refusal, Gen. Gaines was authorized by the Secretary of war, at his discretion, to remove the Indians still remaining on the lands ceded to the United States by the treaty made with the Creeks. In so doing he was told that it might be proper to retain some of them as hostages, until reparation was made for depredations committed by the Indians. In pursuance of this discretionary authority Gen. Gaines ordered a detachment of near 300 men,

under the command of Major Twiggs, to surround and take an Indian village called Fowl Town, about 14 miles from fort Scott, and near the Florida line. This detachment arrived at Fowl Town in the night, and the Indians, taking the alarm, and flying to an adjacent swamp, were fired on by the detachment, when one man and one woman were killed and two Indians made prisoners. The detachment returned to fort Scott. A day or two afterwards, as stated by Capt. M'Intosh, who was of the party, about the same number of troops paid a second visit to the same village, for the purpose of obtaining property. While loading their waggons with corn, and collecting horses and cattle, they were fired on by the Indians, and a skirmish ensued, in which a small loss was sustained on both sides. It was stated by Capt. Young, the topographical engineer, that this town contained 45 Indian warriors, besides women and children.

From this time the war became more serious. The Indians in considerable numbers were embodied, and an open attack was made on fort Scott. Gen. Gaines with about 600 regular soldiers, was confined to the garrison. In this state of things, information having been communicated to the War Department, Gen. Jackson was ordered to take the field. He was put in command of the regular and military force, amounting to 1800 men, provided for that service; and directed, if he should consider the force provided, insufficient to beat the enemy, (whose force was estimated by Gen. Gaines at 2800 strong) to call on the Governors of the adjoining states for such portions of the militia as he might think requisite. On the receipt of this order Gen. Jackson, instead of observing the orders of the Department of War, by calling on the Governor of Tennessee, then in Nashville, near the place of his residence, chose to appeal (to use his own expression) to the patriotism of the West Tennesseans, who had served under him in the last war. One thousand mounted gunmen, and two companies of what were called life-guards, with the utmost alac-

rity, volunteered their services from the states of Tennessee and Kentucky, and repaired to his standard. Officers were appointed to command this corps by the General himself, or by other persons, acting under his authority. Thus organized, they were mustered into the service of the United States.

About the time Gen. Jackson was organizing this detachment of volunteers, in the state of Tennessee, or previous thereto, Gen. Gaines was likewise employed in raising forces among the Creek Indians. There was this difference in the two cases, Gen. Jackson raised his army in disregard of positive orders; Gen. Gaines, without orders, took upon himself the authority of raising an army of at least 1600 Creek Indians, appointing their officers, with a Brigadier General at their head, and likewise mustering this force into the service of the United States.

It appears that Gen. Jackson advanced into Florida, with a force of 1800 men, composed of regulars, volunteers, and the Georgia militia; and afterwards, on the 1st day of April, was joined by Gen. M'Intosh and his brigade of 1600 Indians, who had been previously organized by Gen. Gaines. Opposed to whom, it appears, from the report of Capt. Young, topographical engineer, and other evidence, the whole forces of the fugitive Seminole Indians and runaway negroes, had they all been embodied, could not have exceeded 900 or 1000 men, and at no time did half that number present themselves to oppose his march. Of course little or no resistance was made.

The Miskasmusky towns were first taken and destroyed. The army marched upon St. Marks, a feeble Spanish garrison, which surrendered without firing a gun, and was then occupied as an American post, the Spanish commandant having first by humble entreaties, and then by a timid protest, endeavoured to avert the measure. Here Alexander Arbuthnot was found, taken prisoner, and put in confinement, for the purpose, as it was stated by Gen. Jackson, "of collecting evidence to establish his

guilt; and here also were taken two Indian chiefs, one of whom pretended to possess the spirit of prophecy; they were hung without trial and without ceremony. Francis, who by the entreaties of his daughter, was persuaded to spare the life of M'Krimmon, a captive, was the prophet above alluded to.

This being done, and St. Marks garrisoned with American troops, the army pursued their march eastward to Suwaney river, on which they found a large Indian village, which was consumed, and the Indians and negroes were dispersed; after which the army returned to St. Marks, bringing with them Robert C. Ambrister, who had been taken prisoner on their march to Suwaney.

During the halt of the army for a few days at St. Marks, a general court martial was called, Arbuthnot was arraigned, found guilty, sentenced to suffer death and hung.

Ambrister was tried in like manner, found guilty, and sentenced to whipping and confinement. Gen. Jackson annulled the sentence, and ordered him to be shot, and this order was executed.

Without additional preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed to furnish our readers with such official accounts of the commencement and progress of the war with the Seminoles, as have been communicated to government by the commanding officers.

WAR DEPARTMENT TO M. GEN. GAINES.

Extract of a letter from George Graham, Acting Sec. of War, to Gen. Gaines, dated Oct. 30, 1817.

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst. covering a copy of the reply which was made by ten of the Seminole towns. to the demand made by you, on them, for the surrender of the murderers of some of our citizens.

“The papers have been submitted to the President, and I am instructed by him to inform you, that

he approves of the movement of the troops from fort Montgomery to fort Scott. The appearance of this additional force, he flatters himself, will, at least have the effect of restraining the Seminoles from committing further depredations, and, perhaps of inducing them to make reparation for the murders which they have committed. Should they, however, persevere in their refusal to make such reparation, it is the wish of the President that you should not, on that account, pass the line, and make an attack upon them within the limits of Florida, until you shall have received further instructions from this Department. You are authorized to remove the Indians still remaining on the lands ceded by the treaty made by Gen. Jackson with the Creeks; and in doing so, it may be proper to retain some of them as hostages, until reparation may have been made for the depredations which have been committed. On this subject, however, as well as the manner of removing them, you will exercise your discretion. M'Intosh, and the other chiefs of the Creek nation, who were here some time since, expressed then, decidedly, their unwillingness to permit any of the hostile Indians to return to their nation.

“P. S. The authority to remove the Indians will, of course not extend to those Indians and their families who have claims to reservations of land under the treaty.”

Copy of another letter from the same to to the same, dated December 2, 1817.

“SIR—Your letter of the 9th ult. advising of the call on the Governor of Georgia, to assemble the auxiliary force which had been previously required by you at fort Hawkins, on the 26th ultimo, has been received.

“It is hoped that the letter addressed to you from this department on the 30th October, will have been received; and that you will confine your operations

to the objects stated in that communication, and to such a disposition of the regular forces under your command, as will deter the Seminole Indians from making further depredations on the frontiers of Georgia.

“The state of our negociation with Spain, and the temper manifested by the principal European powers, make it impolitic, in the opinion of the President, to move a force at this time into the Spanish possessions, for the mere purpose of chastising the Seminoles for depredations which have heretofore been committed by them.”

GEN. E. P. GAINES TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

“Head-Quarters, Fort Scott, Dec. 1, 1817.

“SIR—I had the honour to receive, on the 26th ultimo, your communication of the 30th October. I am very happy to find that the President approves of my movement, but I much regret that his just expectations, as to the effect there was reason to believe would be produced on the minds of the Indians by this movement, have not been realized. I am now quite convinced that the hostility of these Indians is, and has long since been of so deep a character as to leave no ground to calculate upon tranquillity or the future security of our frontier settlements, until the towns south and east of this place shall receive a signal proof of our ability and willingness to retaliate for every outrage. It is now my painful duty to report an affair of a more serious nature than has heretofore occurred, and which leaves no doubt of the necessity of an immediate application of force, and active measures on our part. A large party of Seminole Indians, on the 30th ult, formed an ambuscade upon the Appalachicola river, a mile below the junction of the Flint and Chatahoochie, attacked one of our boats ascending near the shore, and killed, wounded and took the greater part of the detach-

ment, consisting of 40 men, commanded by Lieut. R. W. Scott, of the 7th infantry. There were also on board, killed or taken, 7 women, the wives of soldiers. Six men of the detachment only escaped, four of whom were wounded. They report that the strength of the current at that point of attack had obliged the Lieutenant to keep his boat near the shore; that the Indians had formed along the bank of the river, and were not discovered until their fire had commenced; in the first volley of which Lieut. Scott and most of his valuable men fell.

"The Lieutenant and his party had been sent from this place, some days before, to assist Major Muhlenberg in ascending the river with three vessels laden with military stores, brought from Montgomery and Mobile. The Major, instead of retaining the party to assist him, as I had advised, retained only about 20 men, and in their place put a like number of sick, with the women and regimental clothing. The boat, thus laden, was detached alone for this place. It is due to Major Muhlenburg, to observe, that, at the time he detached the boat, I have reason to believe he was not apprized of any recent hostilities having taken place in this quarter. It appears, however, from Lieutenant Scott's letter received about the hour in which he was attacked, that he had been warned of the danger. Upon the receipt of this letter, I had two boats fitted out with covers and port holes, for defence, and detached Capt. Clinch, with an officer and 40 men with an order to secure the movement of Lieut. Scott, and then to assist Major Muhlenberg.

"The detachment embarked late in the evening of the 30th, and must have passed the scene of action below at night, and some hours after the affair terminated. I have not yet heard from Capt. Clinch under Major Muhlenburg with another boat, secured against the enemy's fire. He will, therefore, move up with safety, keeping near the middle of the river. I shall moreover take a position, with my principal

force, at the junction of the river, near the line, and shall attack any vessel that may attempt to intercept our vessel and supplies below, as I feel persuaded the order of the President, prohibiting an attack upon the Indians below the line, has reference to the past and not to the present or future outrages, such as shall place our troops strictly within the pale of natural law, where self-defence is sanctioned by the privilege of self-preservation. The wounded men who made their escape, concur in their opinion, that they had seen upwards of 500 hostile Indian warriors at different places below the point; of the force engaged, they differ in opinion, but all agree that the number was very considerable, extending about 150 yards along the shore, in the edge of a swamp or thick woods. I am assured by the friendly chiefs, that the hostile warriors of every town upon the Chatahoochie prepared canoes, and pushed off down the river to join the Seminoles, as soon as the account of my movement from the Alabama reached them.

“The Indians now remaining upon the Chatahoochie, I have reason to believe, are well disposed. One of the new settlers, however, has recently been killed, but it has been clearly proved, that the murderer had belonged to the hostile party. The friendly chiefs in the neighbourhood, when apprised of the murder, assembled a party, and sent in pursuit of the offender, and followed him to Flint river on the route to Mickasukee, whither he escaped. Onishajo, and several other friendly chiefs, have offered me their services, with their warriors, to go against the Seminoles. I have promised to give them notice of the time that may be fixed for my departure, and then to accept their services. The enclosure No. 1, contains the substance of what I have said to the chiefs who have visited me, several of whom reside south of the Spanish line, and west of Appalachicola river. It was expected by the chiefs that I should communicate to them my views and wishes. I felt

authorised to say but little, and I deemed it necessary in what I should say to endeavour to counteract the erroneous impressions by which they have been misled by pretended British agents.

"I hope the President will see, in what I have said, nothing to disapprove. I feel persuaded a report of the various talks which I received from the chiefs, would show the propriety of what I have said to them. Such a report I have not a moment's time now to make. The Indians are at this moment firing at our camp from the opposite line of the river.

"I have the honour to be, most respectfully, your most obedient humble servant,

EDMUND P. GAINES.

Major Gen. by Brevet commanding.

"To the Hon. Secretary of War, Washington City."

No. 1. (Enclosed in the above.)

"CHIEFS AND WARRIORS—The President of the United States has been informed of the murders and thefts committed by the hostile Indians, who have been required to deliver up the murderers of our citizens, and the stolen property; but they refused to deliver either. They have had a council at Mickasaukee, in which they have determined upon war. They have been at war against helpless women and children, let them now calculate upon fighting men. We have long known that we had enemies east of the river; we likewise know we have some friends; but they are so mixed together that we cannot always distinguish the one from the other. The President wishes to do justice to his red friends, and to separate the bad from the good. Those who have taken up arms against him, and such as have listened to the bad talks of the people beyond the sea, must go to Mickasaukee, or Suwaney, where we wish to find them together. But all those who were our friends in the war will sit at their homes in peace. We will pay them for what meat they have to sell us. We will be their friends, and when they are

hungry we will give them meat. 'The hostile party pretend to calculate upon help from the British; they may as well look for soldiers from the moon to help them. Their warriors were beaten, and driven from our country by American troops. 'The English are not able to help themselves; how then should they help the old "Red Sticks," whom they have joined by pretended friendship?'

Extract of a letter from the same to the same, dated
Head-Quarters, Fort Hawkins, Dec. 16, 1817.

"SIR—I arrived at this place the day before yesterday morning. In the afternoon of the same day I received the detachment of Georgia militia, under the command of Brigadier General Glascock. They look well, and are ready to march; but the inattention on the part of the contractor's agent to the requisitions for a supply of rations, will, I apprehend, according to custom, delay the movement of the militia, until some part of the frontier settlements suffer by the Indians, who, I have no doubt, will detach considerable parties, for this purpose, as soon as they find themselves unable to succeed in any attempt against the regular troops at fort Scott; and I think it cannot be long before they are convinced of this. But although I consider the regular troops secure in the situation they occupy, yet I am satisfied their numbers will not warrant their being detached, or leaving their places of defence, except to a very small extent.

"I have just now received Mr. Graham's letter of the 2d inst. The views of the President, so far as may depend on me, shall be scrupulously observed. I should instantly discharge the Georgia militia, were I not strongly impressed with a belief that such a step would hazard the safety of the frontier settlements. The Seminole Indians, however strange and absurd it may appear to those who understand little of their real character and extreme ignorance, enter-

tain a notion that they cannot be beaten by our troops. They confidently assert, that we have never beaten them, or any of their people, except when we have been assisted by the "red people."

"This will appear the less extraordinary, when it is recollected that they have little or no means of knowing the strength and resources of our country; they have not travelled through it; they read neither books nor newspapers, nor have they opportunities of conversing with persons able to inform them.

"I feel warranted, from all I know of the savages, in saying, they do not believe we can beat them.

"This error of theirs has led them from time to time, for many years past, to massacre our frontier citizens, often the unoffending and helpless mother and babes. I felt myself fully authorized to adopt the only measures which long experience has proved to be fully adequate, to put a stop to these outrages. I was pleased with the prospect of being instrumental in effecting an object of so much importance to our exposed frontier settlements, and which I felt, and still feel persuaded, would in the end benefit the Indians.

"The steps I have taken are known to the department of war. You can more readily conceive, than I describe, the mortification and disappointment I have experienced in being compelled to suspend or abandon my measures, at a moment when the loss of Lieut. Scott and his party had given the enemy an occasion for triumph, and a certain prospect of increasing his strength, by enlisting against us all who had before wavered or hesitated.

"Permit me then to repeat my request that I may be permitted to return.

"There is little reason to apprehend that we shall find it necessary to follow the Indians beyond the national boundary. They are now to be found in very considerable parties on our side of the line.

"I have not a doubt of the necessity of sending to Flint river, by way of Hartford, the detachment of militia under Gen. Glascock.

"My endeavours to put the detachment in motion will delay my own movement until the 17th inst. at which time I shall resume my march to Point Peter.

"An opinion prevails among the well informed of this part of the country (who have by some means unknown to me been advised of our intention to take Amelia island) that our troops there will meet with no opposition. Should this be the case, I shall return to fort Scott without delay.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"EDMUND P. GAINES, Maj. Gen. Comd.

"Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, Sec. of War."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM J. C. CALHOUN, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GEN. GAINES, DATED DEC. 16, 1817.

"SIR—On the receipt of this letter, should the Seminole Indians still refuse to make reparations for their outrages and depredations on the citizens of the United States, it is the wish of the President, that you consider yourself at liberty to march across the Florida line, and to attack them within its limits, should it be found necessary, unless they should shelter themselves under a Spanish fort. In the last event, you will immediately notify this department.

"I have, &c. &c."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GENERAL JACKSON, DATED

"Department of War, Dec. 26, 1817.

"SIR—You will repair, with as little delay as practicable, to fort Scott, and assume the immediate command of the forces in that section of the southern division.

"The increasing display of hostile intentions by the Seminole Indians, may render it necessary to concentrate all the contiguous and disposable force of your

division, upon that quarter. The regular force now there is about 800 strong, and 1000 militia of the state of Georgia are called into service. Gen. Gaines estimates the strength of the Indians at 2700. Should you be of opinion that our numbers are too small to beat the enemy, you will call on the executives of the adjacent states for such an additional militia force as you may deem requisite.

Gen. Gaines had been ordered early in last month to repair to Amelia island. It is presumed that he has, therefore, relinquished the command at fort Scott. Subsequent orders have been given to Gen. Gaines, (copies of which will be furnished you,) advising him that you would be directed to take command, and directing him to reassume, should he deem the public interest to require it, the command at fort Scott, until you should arrive there. If, however, the General should have progressed to Florida, before the subsequent orders may have reached him, he was instructed to penetrate to the Seminole towns, through the Floridas, provided the strength of his command at Amelia would justify his engaging in offensive operations.

“With this view, you may be prepared to concentrate your forces and to adopt the necessary measures, to terminate a conflict, which it has been the desire of the President, from considerations of humanity, to avoid, but which is now made necessary by their settled hostility.

“With great respect, &c. J. C. CALHOUN.

“Maj. Gen. ANDREW JACKSON, comdg. southern division.”

MAJ. GEN. JACKSON TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

“H. Q. Division of the South, Nashville, Jan 20, 1818.

SIR—In a communication to you of the 12th inst. I acknowledged the receipt of your order of the 26th ult. and advised you of the appeal I had made to the patriotism of the West Tennesseans. Yesterday, the officers who had so gallantly headed the Tennessee mounted volunteers during the Creek campaigns, met

me at this place, and gave every assurance of their ability to assemble two regiments of mounted gunmen, by the 31st inst. at any designated point within the western part of the state. I have ordered them to rendezvous at Fayetteville, and as many as may appear on the 31st inst. or the 1st of February, to be mustered and received into service for six months, (if not sooner discharged,) by my Inspector General. The contractor has instructions to issue to these troops 20 days rations, and every measure has been adopted to facilitate their march, via Fort Jackson, by the most direct practicable route to fort Scott. These troops will be well supplied as far as fort Jackson, and there the necessary provisions may be obtained, and packed to answer their immediate wants, until they are intercepted by supplies from below. Maj. Fanhing has been despatched to fort Hawkins, to purchase and forward on these supplies to the most convenient point of interception.

With respect, &c.

"ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen. com."

"Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, Secretary of War."

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GEN. JACKSON.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM J. C. CALHOUN, SECRETARY OF WAR,
TO MAJ. GEN. ANDREW JACKSON, DATED

January 24, 1818.

"Your letters of the 12th and 13th inst. are received. The measures you have taken to bring an efficient force into the field are approbated; and a confident hope is entertained, that a speedy and successful termination of the Indian war will follow your exertions.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR, TO MAJ.
GEN. ANDREW JACKSON, DATED

"Department of War, February 6, 1818.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ult. and to acquaint you with

the entire approbation of the President of all the measures which you have adopted to terminate the rupture with the Indians. The honour of our arms, as well as the interest of our country, requires that it should be as speedily terminated as practicable; and the confidence reposed in your skill and promptitude assures us that peace will be restored on such conditions as will make it honourable and permanent."

GEN. JACKSON TO THE SEC. OF WAR.

"Fort Gadsden, east bank of the Appalachiecola }
river, formerly Negro fort, March 20, 1818. }

"SIR--At 7 o'clock, P. M. on the 9th inst. I reached fort Scott, with the brigade of Georgia militia, 900 bayonets strong, and some of the friendly Creeks, who had joined me on my march a few days before, where finding but one quart of corn per man, and a few poor cattle, which added to the live pork I brought with me would give us three days rations of meat, determined me at once to use this small supply to the best advantage. Accordingly, having been advised by Col. Gibson, Quarter-Master-General, that he would sail from New-Orleans on the 12th of February, with supplies; and being also advised that two sloops with provisions were in the bay, and an officer had been despatched from fort Scott in a large keel boat to bring up a part of their loading, and deeming that the preservation of these supplies would be to preserve the army, and enable me to prosecute the campaign, I assumed the command on the morning of the 10th, ordered the live stock to be slaughtered and issued to the troops with one quart of corn to each man, and the line of march to be taken up at 12, meridian. Having to cross the Flint river, which was very high, combined with some neglect in returning the boats during a very dark night, I was unable to move from the opposite bank until 9 o'clock on the morning of the 11th, when I took up my line

of march down the east bank of the river for this place, touching the river as often as practicable, looking for the provision boat which was ascending, and which I was fortunate enough to meet on the 13th, when I ordered an extra ration to the troops, they not having received a full one of meal or flour since their arrival at fort Early.

“On that day my patrols captured three prisoners, and found some hidden corn. On the morning of the 14th I ordered the boat down the river to this place, whilst I descended by land, and reached here without interruption on the 16th. The eligibility of this spot as a depot determined me, and I immediately directed my aid-de-camp, Lieut. Gadsden, of the engineer corps, to furnish a plan for, and superintend the erection of a fortification. His talents and indefatigable zeal displayed in the execution of this order, induced me to name it fort Gadsden; to which he is justly entitled.

“From information received from Pensacola and New-Orleans, I have no doubt but that St. Marks is in possession of the Indians. The governor of Pensacola informed Capt. Call, of the 1st infantry, (now here) that the Indians had demanded arms, ammunition and provisions, or the possession of the garrison of St. Marks of the commandant, and that he presumed possession would be given from inability to defend it. The Spanish government is bound by treaty to keep the Indians at peace with us. They have acknowledged their incompetency to do this, and are consequently bound by the law of nations to yield us all facilities to reduce them. Under this consideration, should I be able, I shall take possession of the garrison as a depot for my supplies, should it be found in the hands of the Spaniards, they having supplied the Indians; but if in the hands of the enemy, I will possess it for the benefit of the United States, as a necessary position for me to hold, to give peace and security to this frontier, and put a final end to Indian warfare in the south.

“Finding it very difficult to supply fort Crawford, on the Caneucho, by land, I have ordered the supplies for that garrison by water, and written to the governor of Pensacola, that if he interrupts them during the present Indian war, I shall view it as aiding our enemy, and treat it as an act of hostility, and stated to him the propriety under existing circumstances, of his affording all facilities to put down their own as well as our enemies, and that our governments while negotiating can take the subject under consideration, but, in the meantime, our provisions must pass to fort Crawford by water without interruption.

“In mine, of the 26th ultimo, from fort Early, I stated that despatches, received by Gen. Gaines on the 19th inst. from the commanding officer at fort Scott, induced him to set out that night for fort Scott, to prevent its abandonment, &c. In his passage down the Flint river he was shipwrecked, by which he lost his assistant adjutant-general, Maj. C. Wright, and two soldier's drowned. The General reached me six days after, nearly exhausted by hunger and cold, having lost his baggage and clothing, and being compelled to wander in the woods four and a half days without any thing to subsist on, or any clothing except a pair of pantaloons. I am happy to have it in my power to say, that he is now with me at the head of his brigade in good health.

“ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen. comd'g.

“P. S. Gen. M'Intosh, commanding the friendly Creeks, who had been ordered to reconnoitre the right bank of the Appalachicola, reported to me on the 19th, that he had captured, without the fire of a gun, 180 women and children, and 53 warriors of the Red Ground Chief's party, with their cattle and supplies. The chief and 20 warriors made their escape on horseback. Ten of the warriors, attempting to escape after they had surrendered, were killed by the general.

A. J.”

ADJUTANT GEN. BUTLER TO THE SEC. OF WAR.

"Head-Quarters, Division of the South,
Adjutant General's Office, Fort Gadsden,
Appalachicola river, May 3, 1818. }

"SIR—I have the honour to report, that the army under the immediate command of Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, took up the line of march on the 26th day of March last, with eight days rations, and lay in advance of this post about six miles on the 29th at Ochlochaway river, when 19 canoes were made, and the principal part of the army crossed by 8 o'clock, P. M. Major Twiggs was detached with one company and about 200 warriors, with orders to advance on an Indian village called Tallahassee, and surprise it at day-break. On his near approach he despatched a party to ascertain its situation, who reported it evacuated some days before. On the morning of the 31st he entered the village, having previously sent out parties to reconnoitre; two of the enemy were made prisoners, one of whom made his escape from the Indians before he was brought into camp. The army passed the village about 12 o'clock, and encamped near Mickasuky, when intelligence was received of the approach of a detachment of mounted volunteers, from Tennessee, under the command of Lieut. Col. Elliot, near 400 strong. On the morning of the 1st of April, the army formed and halted until their arrival, when they were ordered to form the advance of each flank, with Captains Russel and Evan's companies as spies, with Captain John Gordon. The army now advanced within one mile and a half of Kinghajah town, when a number of Indians were discovered herding cattle in the margin of a large pond. The General ordered the right and left columns to advance, with a view of cutting off their retreat, and at the same time instructed the advance light company under Major Muhlenberg, the guard, Major Nicks, together with the small companies composing his life guard, under Captains Dunlap and Crittenden, to advance in support of the spies, in

the event of a general engagement. The spy companies commenced the attack, and a brisk running fire was kept up on both sides for some minutes, when the enemy divided, the spy companies pursuing those on the right, and Lieut. Col. Elliot, having turned their flank, became generally engaged, and bore them over to the left column, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mitchell, within half gun-shot of each other, when they were assailed by both flanks and would all have fallen, had not the volunteers taken up the impression (from the similarity of dress) that some of the friendly warriors had reached in pursuit of the enemy, which occasioned the firing to cease for a short time, when a number made good their retreat into the swamp. Capt. Crittenden's company being on horse back, was unable to reach the head of Lieut. Col. Elliot's column, when they dismounted and operated against the enemy. Major Muhlenburg's company, the advance guard and Captain Dunlap's company being on foot was not able to reach the scene of action in time. The right column of Georgia militia on nearing the pond filed round it, and Col. King, with his regiment, was ordered to advance through it to support the column of horse, should it be found necessary; which was executed by the Colonel with great promptitude. The conduct of the officers and soldiers engaged on this occasion, was in every respect praiseworthy. Our loss was one man of Captain Andrew's company killed, and four of Capt. Evan's company of Tennessee volunteers wounded. The reports give 14 killed and several wounded of the enemy, and four women prisoners, from whom we learned that 300 warriors had advanced from the town to aid those engaged, and on seeing the advance of an army, fled precipitately. The army now advanced upon the town which was found deserted; and on reaching the square discovered a red pole planted at the council house, on which was suspended about 50 fresh scalps, taken from the heads of extreme age, down to the

tender infant, of both sexes, and in an adjacent house, those of near 300 men, which bore the appearance of having been the barbarous trophies of settled hostility for three or four years past.

“The army continued the pursuit to a large pond of water, which is eight miles in length, varying in width from 600 to 4000 yards, and from two to five feet deep; through which the army passed, when the approach of night induced the commanding general to draw off his troops. On the succeeding morning brevet Maj. Gen. E. P. Gaines, with a large command, was ordered to pass the lake or pond, and attack the other towns; but which he found abandoned by the enemy. The red pole was again found planted in the square of Fowl Town, barbarously decorated with human scalps, of both sexes, taken within the last six months from the heads of our unfortunate citizens. Gen. M’Intosh, who was with Gen. Gaines, routed a small party of savages near Fowl Town, killed one negro and took three prisoners, on one of whom was found the coat of James Champion, of Capt. Cumming’s company, 4th regiment of infantry, who was killed by the Indians on board of one of our boats descending the river to the relief of Major Muhlenberg; this coat with nearly all Capt. Cumming’s company’s clothing was lost on board of Lieut. Scott’s boat, when he and his party were massacred on the 30th of November last. The pocket book of Mr. Leigh, who was murdered at Cedar Creek on the 21st January last, was found in Kinghajah’s town, containing several letters addressed to the deceased, and one to General Glascock. About 1000 head of cattle fell into our hands, many of which were recognized by the Georgia militia as having brands and marks of their citizens. Near 3000 bushels of corn was found, with other articles useful to the army. Upwards of 300 houses were consumed, leaving a tract of fertile country in ruin; where these wretches might have lived in plenty, but for the vile machinations of foreign traders, if not

agents. The army remained at this point until the morning of the 5th, when the march was resumed for St. Marks, before which it arrived on the evening of the 6th; and, after communicating with the commanding officer, took possession of that fortress on the following morning. Capt. M'Keever of the navy, having sailed for St. Marks with some vessels containing supplies for the army, was fortunate enough to entice on board his vessel in the river, Francis, or Hillishajo, and Homathlamico, hostile chiefs of the Creek nation, and whose settled hostility have been severely felt by our citizens. The commanding General had them brought on shore, and ordered them to be hung, as an example to deter others from exciting these deluded wretches to future scenes of butchery. A man by the name of A. Arbuthnot was also taken on the arrival of the army, and placed in close confinement.

“The troops having again received eight days rations, and a garrison detached for fort St. Marks, the army marched on the 9th of April, destined for Suwaney. On the morning of the 12th the officer of the day reported, that the sentinels had heard the lowing of cattle and barking of dogs during the night; from which the General was induced to send a runner to General M'Intosh, who encamped a short distance in the rear of the army, with instructions to have the country examined. In the mean time, the army moved slowly in advance. General M'Intosh despatched Major Kanard, with a party, who returned to him a runner, reporting the discovery of a hostile party too strong for his little band of warriors. M'Intosh moved against them with his whole force, and a small detachment of different companies of the Tennessee volunteers, under Colonels Dyer and Williamson, (they having joined the army on the evening of the 10th) and, on hearing the report of Major Kanard, formed themselves into a company under Captain Bell, who was with them, and moved to attack the enemy, whom they found near a large swamp, en-

deavouring to move off. A spirited engagement ensued, which resulted in the death of 37, and 6 men and 98 women and children prisoners; and our loss three killed and four wounded of the friendly Indians. The only woman out of seven, whose life was spared at the massacre of Lieut. Scott, was here re-captured by Major Kanard. Gen. M'Intosh individually killed three of the enemy and captured one. The little band of Tennessee volunteers acted on this occasion as becomes their character. At the commencement of the action the army was halted, and a runner despatched to inform Gen. M'Intosh that any aid he might deem necessary would be afforded, and that the army would remain until his arrival, which was not until we encamped for the night.

"The enemy abandoned a number of horses, hogs, corn, and about 600 head of cattle. The army moved on the morning of the 13th, and on the succeeding day our spies surprised a camp, consisting of two men, a woman and two children. One of the men was killed; the others, with a small boy, slightly wounded; and the woman, unfortunately, not being distinguished in the swamp, received a wound, of which she died.

"At 3 o'clock, P. M. on the 29th, the army arrived at a large pond, within 6 miles of Bowleg's town, on Suwaney river, where a few Indians, well mounted, discovered our advance. An attempt was made to overtake them; but the enfeebled state of our horses rendered it impracticable. Under these circumstances, the General deemed it advisable to make the town by a forced march, not allowing the enemy time to cross the river, and destroy their supplies. The manner of attack having been previously arranged, the army moved rapidly, until arriving near a thick wood which flanks the town, when the troops changed position, conformably to previous orders, and moved forward. The left flank, composed of Col. Williamson's regiment of Tennessee volunteers, at the head of which a force of Indian warriors

under Col. Kanard, soon came in contact with, and warmly engaged the Indians and negroes, whilst the right flank, composed of Col. Dyer's regiment of Tennessee volunteers, with a like force of warriors under Gen. M'Intosh, advanced near the river, to prevent the enemy from crossing. The centre advanced in excellent order, and under the expectation of having to combat with the strength of these towns, and the fugitives from Mickasuky; but on reaching Bowlegs' Town, found it abandoned. The left flank, from the nature of the ground they had to traverse, and Colonel Kanard not adhering to the route designated, drove the Indians and negroes, about 300, into the river, before the right flank could occupy the desired position.

"The reports gave 11 killed and 3 prisoners on the field, and it is believed many were killed and drowned in swimming the river, it being nearly 300 yards wide. Col. Kanard had 13 wounded, one dangerously. About 2700 bushels of corn were obtained in the towns and neighbouring swamps, and nearly 90 head of cattle and a number of horses. Our sentinels on the night of the 17th, took prisoners two white men (Ambrister and Cook) and one negro, who had just returned from Arbuthnot's vessel, at the mouth of Suwaney. From the latter we obtained a letter written by A. Arbuthnot to his son, in which he enumerates the army of the U. States, under the General's command, and requests him to inform his friend Bowlegs, that resistance would be fruitless against such an overwhelming force, and to make over the river with all despatch; admonishing his son, at the same time, to remove and secrete every thing that could be removed. From Cook we learned, that this was read to the negroes and Indians, when they immediately commenced crossing their families, and had just finished as we entered their towns. Upwards of 300 houses were here consumed, the most of which were well built, and somewhat regular, extending near three miles up the river. On the morning of

the 18th Gen. Gaines was ordered, with a select command, and a number of warriors under Gen. M'Intosh, to cross the Suwaney river, in pursuit of the enemy, but found, on advancing about 6 miles, that they were dispersed in every direction, from the numerous trails, and too far advanced to overtake them, his command being short of supplies.

"A detachment of warriors having advanced some distance, fell in with a small party of the enemy, killed three warriors, took some women and children, and five negroes. On the same morning Lieut. James Gadsden, Aid-de-Camp to the commanding General descended the Suwaney river to its mouth, with Capt. Dunlap's and a few of Capt. Crittenden's companies of the life-guard and a small detachment of the regulars, and captured without difficulty the schooner of A. Arbuthnot, which had brought supplies of powder and lead to the Indians and negroes, settled at Suwaney. This vessel afforded the means of transporting our sick back to St. Marks. On the evening of the 20th, Gen. Glascock was ordered, at his request, to march his brigade by Mickasuky to Hartford, in Georgia, and Captain Bell ordered to muster those out of service, and the army moved about three quarters of a mile preparatory to its return. On the 20th Gen. M'Intosh was ordered to proceed direct to fort Scott, on Flint river, and an order furnished him to the commanding officer to muster his warriors out of service.

"The army reached fort St. Marks on the 25th, having marched 28 miles on that day; and we were agreeably surprised in finding that Lieut. Gadsden had arrived in safety that evening, from the mouth of the Suwaney. On the 26th a special court was ordered, for the trial of A. Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister, which court, on the documents and evidence adduced, sentenced the first to be hung, and the latter to be shot. They were accordingly executed on the morning of the 29th. The army moved and encamped on the evening of the 28th, and arrived

at fort Gadsden on the 2d inst. The General having previously detached a garrison of 200 men, under the command of brevet Major Fanning, to occupy fort St. Marks. I have only to add, that this army has borne hardships and privations to a great extent, in a manner becoming soldiers and citizens of a nation proud of their liberties.

“And have the honour to be, very respectfully,
your most obedient servant,

ROBERT BUTLER, Adj. Gen.

“Brig. Gen. DANIEL PARKER, Adj. and Insp. Gen.”

General Jackson in a letter to the Secretary of War, stating his reasons for having demanded from the Spanish Commandant the surrender of fort St. Marks, concludes thus: “It could not be maintained by the Spanish force garrisoning it. The Indians and negroes viewed it as an asylum if driven from the towns, and were preparing to occupy it, in this event. It was necessary to anticipate their movements, independent of the position being deemed essential as a depot on which the success of my future operations measurably depended. In the spirit of friendship, I, therefore, demanded its surrender to the army of the United States, until the close of the Seminole war. The Spanish commandant required time to reflect: it was granted; and a negotiation ensued, and an effort was made to protract it to an unwarrantable length. In the conversation between my Aid-de-camp, Lieut. Gadsden, and the Spanish commandant, circumstances transpired convincing him of a disposition to favour the Indians, and having taken an active part in aiding and abetting them in this war. I hesitated, therefore, no longer; and, as I could not be received in friendship, I entered the fort by violence. Two light companies of the 7th regiment of infantry, and one of the 4th, under the command of Major Twiggs, were ordered to advance, lower the Spanish colours and hoist the star-spangled banner on the ramparts of fort St. Marks. The

order was executed promptly. No resistance was attempted on the part of the Spanish garrison.

"In fort St. Marks, an inmate in the family of the Spanish commandant, an Englishman, by the name of Arbuthnot, was found. Unable satisfactorily to explain the object of his visiting this country, and there being a combination of circumstances to justify a suspicion that his views were not honest, he was ordered into close confinement. On the capture of his schooner near the mouth of Suwaney river, by my Aid-de-camp, Lieut. Gadsden, papers were found on board, unveiling his corrupt transactions, as well as those of Captain Ambrister, late of the British colonial marine corps, taken as a prisoner near Bowlegs' town. These individuals were tried under my orders, by a special court of select officers, legally convicted as exciter's of this savage and negro war, legally condemned, and most justly punished for their iniquities.

"Previous to my leaving fort Gadsden I had occasion to address a communication to the Governor of Pensacola, on the subject of permitting supplies to pass up the Escambia river to fort Crawford. This letter, with another from St. Marks on the subject of some United States clothing, shipped in a vessel in the employ of the Spanish Government, to that post, I now enclose with his reply. The Governor of Pensacola refusing my demand cannot but be viewed as evincing an hostile feeling on his part, particularly in connection with some circumstances reported to me from the most unquestionable authority. It has been stated that the Indians at war with the United States, have free access into Pensacola; that they are kept advised, from that quarter, of all our movements; that they are supplied from thence with ammunition and munitions of war; and that they are now collecting in a large body, to the number of 4 or 500 warriors, in that city. That inroads from thence have been lately made on the Alabama; in one of which, 18 settlers fell by the tomahawk. These statements compel me to make a movement to the

west of the Appalachicola, and, should they prove correct, Pensacola must be occupied with an American force; the Governor treated according to his deserts, or as policy may dictate. I shall leave strong garrisons in forts St. Marks, Gadsden and Scott, and in Pensacola, should it become necessary to possess it. It becomes my duty to state it, as my confirmed opinion, that, so long as Spain has not the power or will to enforce the treaties by which she is solemnly bound to preserve the Indians within her territory, at peace with the United States. no security can be given to our southern frontier, without occupying a chain of posts along the sea shore. The moment the American army retires from Florida, the war hatchet will be again raised, and the same scenes of indiscriminate massacre with which our frontier settlers have been visited will be repeated. So long as the Indians within the territory of Spain are exposed to the delusions of false prophets and poison of foreign intrigue; so long as they can receive ammunition, munitions of war, &c. from pretended traders and Spanish commandants, it will be impossible to restrain their outrages. The burning of their towns, the destroying of their stock and provisions, will produce very little else but temporary embarrassments. Re-supplied by Spanish authorities, they may concentrate and disperse at will, and keep up a lasting predatory warfare against the frontiers of the United States, as expensive to our government as harrassing to our troops. The savages, therefore, must be made dependent upon us, and cannot be kept at peace without being persuaded of the certainty of chastisement being inflicted on the commission of the least offence. I trust, therefore, that the measures which have been pursued will meet with the approbation of the President of the United States. They have been adopted in pursuance of your instructions, and under a firm conviction that they alone were calculated to insure "peace and security to the southern frontier of Georgia."

“The army will move on the 7th from hence, crossing the Appalachicola river, at the Ochesee bluff, about 40 miles above this.

“ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen. comd’g.

“Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, Secretary of War.”

The following extract of a letter from Gen. Jackson to the Secretary of War, dated fort Montgomery, June 2, will acquaint the reader with his reasons as therein stated, for having penetrated so far, and taken forcible possession of Pensacola.

“On the 10th of May my army crossed the river at the Ochesee village, and after a fatiguing, tedious and circuitous march of 12 days, misled by the ignorance of our pilots, and exposed to the severest privations, we finally reached and effected a passage over the Escandria. On my march on the 23d of May, a protest from the Governor of Pensacola was delivered to me by a Spanish officer, remonstrating in warm terms against my proceedings, and ordering me and my force instantly to quit the territory of his Catholic Majesty, with a threat to apply force in the event of a non-compliance. This was so open an indication of a hostile feeling on his part, after having been early and well advised of the objects of my operations, that I hesitated no longer on the measures to be adopted. I marched for and entered Pensacola with only the show of resistance, on the 24th of May. The Governor had previously fled to fort Carlos de Barrancas, where it is said he resolved upon a most desperate resistance. The peaceable surrender of the Fort at the Barrancas was denied. I marched for and invested it on the evening of the 25th of May, and on the same night pushed reconnoitering parties under its very guns. On the morning of the 26th a military reconnoissance was taken, and on the same night a lodgement was made, under a fire from the Spanish garrison, by Capt. Gadsden of the Engineers, aided by Capts. Call and Young, on a commanding position, within 385 yards of the Spanish works, and a nine

pounder mounted. A howitzer battery was simultaneously established on the capital and within 750 yards of the fort. At day-light on the 27th, the Spanish garrison opened their artillery on our batteries; a parley was sounded, a flag sent in, and the surrender of fort Carlos de Barrancas again demanded; the favorable positions obtained were pointed out, and the inutility of resistance urged. Anxious to avoid an open contest, and to save the effusion of blood, the same terms previously offered were again tendered. These were rejected and offensive operations recommenced. A spirited and well directed fire was kept up the greater part of the morning, and at intervals during the afternoon. In the evening a flag was sent from the Spanish Commandant, offering to capitulate, and a suspension of hostilities was granted until eight o'clock the next day, when articles of capitulation were signed and agreed to. The terms are more favorable than a conquered enemy would have merited; but, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, my object obtained, there was no motive for wounding the feelings of those whose military pride or honour had prompted to the resistance made. The articles, with but one condition, amount to the complete cession to the United States of that portion of the Floridas, hitherto under the government of Don Jose Masot.

“The Seminole war may now be considered at a close, tranquillity again restored to the southern frontier of the United States, and, as long as a cordon of military posts is maintained along the gulf of Mexico, America has nothing to apprehend from either foreign or Indian hostilities. Indeed, Sir, to attempt to fortify or protect an imaginary line, or to suppose that a frontier on the 31st degree of latitude, in a wilderness, can be secured by a cordon of military posts, whilst the Spanish authorities were not maintained in the Floridas, and that the country lay open to the use and excitement of any enemy, is visionary in the extreme. On the immutable principle, therefore, of self-defence, authorized by the law of nature and of

nations, have I bottomed all my operations. On the fact that the Spanish officers had aided and abetted the Indians, and thereby became a party in hostility against us, do I justify my occupying the Spanish fortresses. Spain has disregarded the treaties existing with the American government, or had not power to enforce them. The Indian tribes within her territory, and which she was bound to keep at peace, had visited our citizens with all the horrors of savage war. Negro brigands were establishing themselves when and where they pleased, and foreign agents were openly and knowingly practising their intrigues in this neutral territory. The immutable principles of self-defence justified, therefore, the occupancy of the Floridas, and the same principles will warrant the American government in holding it until such time as Spain can guarantee, by an adequate military force, the maintaining her authority within the colony.

“With respect, yours, &c.

“ANDREW JACKSON, Maj. Gen. com.”

“The Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, Sec’y at War.”

It is stated that Arbuthnot, who was publicly executed as a spy, by order of Gen. Jackson, had been a captain in the British service, was about 40 years of age, of genteel appearance, and met his fate like a soldier. When the executioner was fixing the rope around his neck, he desired not to be handled so roughly; observed he was a gentleman, and spoke of his death being avenged. His property he requested should be given to his son. Ambrister (who was charged with a similar offence, and suffered with Arbuthnot,) was a young man not exceeding 25 years. At first he appeared undaunted and quite indifferent as to his fate, but as death began to look him in the face, he lost his composure, and died more like a woman than a man.

The prophet Francis, who was executed a little before, had in his pocket a commission of Brigadier General, from the British government supposed to have

been presented him during his late visit to England, whence he had not long returned. His arrival in that country, was thus announced in one of the English prints: "The double sound of a trumpet announced the approach of the patriot Francis, who fought so gloriously in our cause in America. He was dressed in a most splendid suit of red and gold, and by his side he wore a tomahawk, mounted in gold!" This wretch is said to have been the prime mover of the unprovoked and infernal massacre of the garrison, with the women, &c. of fort Mims; and him also who slaughtered Lieut. Scott and his party. An officer in Gen. Jackson's army, in writing to his friend, relative to the surrender of a number of the enemy as prisoners, at St. Marks, thus speaks of the family of Francis: "The wife and family of the prophet Francis are among the prisoners. Two of his daughters are very interesting young ladies, and speak very good English, as in fact the whole family do except the mother. The eldest, when her father was decoyed on board the American schooner, shortly after followed, supposing her to be a British vessel; before she got alongside, however, she discovered the deception, pushed off and made her escape. The youngest and most beautiful is caressed by all the officers, for having saved the life of a Georgia militia man (M'Krimmon) whom her countrymen had taken prisoner and were about to put to death, when this modern Pocahontas finding her entreaties vain, determined to save his life or perish with him. She was successful, and the man was preserved."

THE END.

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